JAGIRDARS IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE DURING THE REIGN OF AKBAR

THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE HIMACHAL PRADESH UNIVERSITY
FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

1996

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that Shri Bal Krishan's Thesis entitled "JAGIRDARS IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE DURING THE REIGN OF AKBAR" has been completed under my supervision. Further certified that the thesis is the original contribution of Shri Bal Krishan and is worthy of consideration for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in History.

It is, therefore, recommended that the thesis be referred to expert for evaluation.

(Chetan Singh)

PREFACE

The emergence, evolution and consolidation of mansabdari represents one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Mughal rule in India. Significant work on this question has been done by many scholars. This includes the contributions of S.Nurul Hasan, Irfan Habib, P.Saran, Athar Ali, Abdul Aziz, William Irvine, A.R.Khan and Shireen Moosvi apart from some others. But jagirdars and jagirdari still remain an inadequately researched subject, even though the importance of its study has for long been realized by scholars. Satish Chandra, for example, has considered the jagirdari crisis as the basic cause of the downfall of the Mughal empire. Bernier's famous statement that the transfer of jagirs lead to the ever-increasing oppression of the peasantry, has found support amongst scholars and certainly needs to be more closely examined. While the question of peasant exploitation continues to remain an illusive issue, that of transfer of jagirs has been relatively easier to investigate.

Since my college days, I have been confounded and confused by the question of jagirdari. Very often the features of jagirdari seemed to be contradictory and vague. I came to examine the matter, more seriously

during my Post-graduate studies and realized that not very extensive work had been done on the subject except for some articles. Amongst these were Irfan Habib's chapter, 'Revenue Assignments' in his work, The Agrarian System of Mughal India; W.H.Moreland's chapter 'The Assignments' in, Agrarian System of Moslem India; Athar Ali's chapter 'The Jagirdari system and the Nobility' in The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb), Satish Chandra's introduction to Parties and Politics at Mughal Court; N.A.Siddiqi's chapter 'Division of land Revenue' in Land Revenue Administration under the Mughal, 1707-1750 and S.M.Raza Naqvi's 'procedure of Jagir Assignment from Akbar to Aurangzeb', in Proceeding of The Indian History Congress, 36 (1975). Even these works take up a much longer period of the Mughal empire from (1556 to 1707). We have only two article's about jagirdari which especially deal with Akbar's reign. These are Iqtidar Alam Khan 'The Mughal Assignment System During Akbar Early year 1556-1575' in Irfan Habib (ed.) Medieval India New Delhi, 1992 and Mahendar Pal 'Akbar's Resumption of Jagir' 1575-9' 're-examination' Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 26 (1964). Even these tend to leave out some important aspects of the jagirdari system as it existed during the reign of Akbar.

While starting this work I was not fully aware of the difficulty of the task and the vastness of the subject. This was further compounded by the limitations

and the non-availability of primary source material. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to gather as much scattered material as possible and to present an intelligible argument. An endeavor has been made to present the features as well as the working of jagirdari system during the reign of Akbar.

The topic, as its title shows, does not pretend to cover the entire Mughal period, but concerns itself only with the jagirdars of Akbar's reign.

In order to clarify and substantiate the various aspects it has been considered, appropriate to add a few tables, maps and appendices. These are by no means perfect, but may prove useful in improving our understanding.

The present work may not have been completed without the guidance of Dr.Chetan Singh, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla. He watched my progress with an interest bordering on enthusiasm despite his busy schedule.

It is my pleasant duty to express my sincere and deep gratitude to Prof.A.R.Khan, Head of the History Department, H.P.University, Shimla; who despite of his busy schedule, found time to discuss and suggest necessary improvements.

Of the many friends who have provided normal support and other kindness along the way, I must mention,

Himesh Janartha, Jai Chauhan, Rocky Chauhan, Pardeep Reitka, Krishan Negi, Lokesh Parikh, Bal Krishan Mehta, Yashwant Harta, Surinder Reitka, Roop Sharma, Parm Dev, Rajinder Chauhan and many other **'stars'** of Rohroo.

I must admit that all this could be possible only due to my **'AMMAJI-PITAJI'** whose self-sacrifices and devotion to the cause of learning have always served as a beacon-light to me. It is their ungrudging help and loving care under the warmth of which I have grown to be what I am at present. I lack words to express my gratitude and love to younger sister, 'Raksha' though she has inevitably viewed my dissertation as a competitor, have, because of her joyful and traceable personalities, she made my progress for easier than it might have been.

(BAL KRISHAN)

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	Akbarnama
A.A.	Ain-i-Akbari
Arif.	Tarikh-i-Akbari
A.M.U.	Aligarh Muslim University
A.Ali.	The Apparatus of Empire
B.N.	Baburnama
Bayazid.	Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar
M.U.T.	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh
Dalpat Vilas.	Dalpat Vilas of Dashratha Sharma (ed.)
Elliot.	Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians.
Ferishta.	Rise of Mohammadan Power in India (Eng.tr.of Tarikh-i-Ferishta)
Gulbadan.	Humayunnama
IESHR.	Journal of Economics and Social History Review.
I.H.Q.	Journal of Indian Historical Quarterly
J.P.H.S.	Journal of the Panjab Historical Society
JIH.	Journal of Indian History
JRAS.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JASB.	Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta.
T.U.	Tazkirat-ul-Umara of Kewal Ram
Mirat.	Mirat-i-Ahmadi
M.U.	Maasir-ul-Umara
M.D.	Mughal Darbar (Hindi tr.of Maasir-ul-Umara)

Khyat.	Munhot Nainsi Ki Khyat (Hindi tr. by Ram Naryan Dugar).
Ojha.	Rajputana Ka Itihas by G.H.Ojha
PIHC.	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
Pargana-ri vigat.	Marwar ra Pargana ri vigat by Munhot Nainsi
Tuzuk.	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
Tod.	Annals of Rajasthan by Col.J.Tod. Ed. by W.Crookes.
Vir Vinod.	Vir Vinod by Kaviraj Shyamal Das.
Z and S.	Zat and Sawar (Rank)

CONTENTS

CHAPTER—1

INTRODUCTION

It has often been argued that the Mughal empire which covered a large part of the Indian subcontinent was governed by a highly centralized administration and that it was to this administration that it owed its success. If so, what was then the basis upon which the entire administrative structure of the Mughal empire was founded?

The development of fire-arms has been regarded by some authorities as the underlying cause of the formation of great Asian empires of the 16th and 17th centuries. The adequacy of this explanation in the case of the Indian Mughals may, however be questioned. Artillery was not the decisive element of the army and the Mughals were never able to employ it very successfully against strong fortifications. The real strength of the Mughal forces lay in the cavalry. Not surprisingly, therefore, the principal obligation of the mansabdars was the maintenance of cavalry contingents with horses of standard breeds. For this purpose they were given jagirs. There was, therefore, an intimate connection between the military power of the Mughal and the jagirdari or assignment system. It was because of this system that the mansabdars became completely dependent upon the will of the emperor. The imperial government was, as a result, able to assemble and despatch mansabdars along with their contingents to

any point at any time, where and when the need arose.

Under the Mughals the officers could be employed either on military duties or in civil administration, and if he had no specific employment, he was required to remain in attendance at court, unless he obtained permission to go elsewhere. The officers engaged in this service were entitled to receive an income, defined exactly in money, corresponding to his rank. The actual payment might be made either in cash from treasury, or by assignment of the revenue of a specific area. A partial payment by both these method was another means by which a mansabdar could receive his dues.

1.1 TERRITORIES

The Mughal territories were for purposes of land revenue administration, divided somewhat unevenly into the three broad categories of suyurghal, khalisa and jagirs mahals.

1.1.1. SUYURGHAL

The muslim rulers of India granted rent free lands to men of piety and learning, and to persons belonging to noble families who had no other means of earning their livelihood. The Mughals continued the practice of granting subsistence allowance to the pious, the learned, the poor and the needy and to the Shaikhs, Sayyids and the

Irani and Turani women.[1] Such a subsistence allowance could be granted in cash or in the form of a grant of land. The subsistence allowance in land was known as madad-maash or milk.[2] The two types of grant were covered by the general term Suyurghal.[3] According to Abul Fazl, persons belonging to four classes were eligible for the grant of madad-maash lands. First, those who were seekers after the truth and who had renounced the world; secondly persons who strove to suppress sensual and carnal desires and had chosen a life of self-abnegations and self-effacement; thirdly, on such as are weak and poor, and have no strength for inquiry; fourthly, on honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are unable to provide for themselves by taking up a trade.[4] This however, is not our objective of study and the details of suyurghal (pargana-wise) have been mentioned by Abul Fazl in his 'Account of Twelve Subas'.

1.1.2 KHALISA

Khalisa land was under the direct control of the central authority and its revenue was also collected by central

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1. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Translated by H.Blochmann, (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1977), 1:279.

2. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:278.

3. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari,1:278. 'The word Suyurghal which is on Mongol Origin Literally means a favour of a grant'.

4. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari,1:278.

officials. It seems, however, to have been an accepted policy to keep for the khalisa the most fertile conveniently located and well administered lands.[5] The extent of the khalisa varied from time to time. In Akbar's 31st year the jama of the khalisa in the provinces of Delhi, Awadh and Allahabad amounted to about a fourth of their total jama.[6] During reign of Jahangir the Khalisa is said to have suffered considerable reductions till its jama fell to even below five percent of that of the whole empire. Total jama of the empire was calculated at 6,30,00,00,000 dams, out of which the jama of assigned area was 5,98,50,00,000 dams and that of khalisa

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5. Bayazid, when deputed to manage the revenue administration of the sarkar of Sarangpur in Malwa in 1576, reported that it was not 'suitable' for inclusion in the khalisa and it was accordingly assigned in jagir. Bayazid Biyat, Tazkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar (ed.) M.Hidayat Hosain, Bib.Ind.(Calcutta: 1941), p.353. What the main criterion for the suitability or fitness of an area for inclusion in the khalisa was may be judged from Hawkins' statement that 'the king taketh' any land 'for himself' (in it be rich ground and likely to yield much). Foster William (ed.) 'Early travels in India', (London: 1927), p.114.

6. Akbar is said to have remitted one-sixth of the Jama in these provinces this year and the remission in the Khalisa is said to have amounted to 4,05,60,596 dams, so that the total jama of the khalisa in the same province, must have exceeded 243 million dams (Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,3:749). In the provincial statistics given in the Ain-i-Akbari the total jama of three provinces amounts to nearly 1016 million dams. The other cases of revenue remission mentioned in Akbarnama do not offer such a straight-forward opportunity for comparison as this.

31,50,00,000 dams approximately.[7] During the reign of Shahjahan step were taken to increase the revenue of Khalisa and by the 20th year of his reign it was increased to one-seventh of the total jama of the empire which stood at 8,80,00,00,000 dams.[8] Thus assignment come to 7,54,28,57,000 dams and Khalisa was valued at 1,25,72,43,000 dams approximately. During reign of Aurangzeb in the 10th year out of total jama of the empire standing at 9,24,00,00,000 dams, one fifth i.e., 1,99,00,00,000 dams were kept for khalisa and 7,25,00,00,000 dams[9] was alienated in assignments. The figure given here are only approximate, but they indicate the extent to which the emperor alienated the state revenue in granting the jagirs. No more detailed information is available for the size of the khalisa under Akbar. But it seems probable that during Akbar's reign there was also pressure for jagir assignment, that is why khalisa lost some ground in order to release lands for assignment as jagirs.

The revenue assignments as pointed out above indicate the extent of the jagirs granted to mansabdars.

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7. U.N.Day,The Mughal Government, (1557-1707), (Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1970), p.186.

8. Lahori, Badshah-Nama, 2:709-12.

9. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, (New Delhi:Asia Publishing House, 1963), pp.272-73.

Under Akbar the bulk of the imperial territory was assigned as jagir to nobles in lieu of their service. The officers often preferred to get their dues in the form of jagirs, because they tried to collect more than the amount that was actually sanctioned to them. "The whole country" wrote Badaoni, 'with the exception of those lands held immediately from the crown (Khalisa land), were held by the amirs as jagirs'.[10] According to Moreland, about 7/8th of the whole territories was in the hands of the assignees.[11] Shireen Moosvi, argues that between 67 to 76 percent of the area under Akbar was given out as jagir.[12] It is possible that at times the entire suba was assigned as jagirs. 'Shahbaz Khan in the year of 1583 A.D. was sent off to Bengal with instruction to hand over all that district to the jagirdars.[13]

1.1.3. JAGIR LAND

Jagirs provided financial stability and political stature. The Mughal nobles attempted to obtain a larger income from

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10. Abul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh Translated W.H.Iowe, (Delhi: IDARAH-I-ADABIYAT-I-DELHI, 1973), 2:193.

11. W.H.Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.75.

12. Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal Empire, C.1595, p.197.

13. Abul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,2:333; Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari Translated by B.N.De, (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1992), 2:561.

the *jagir*, than it was estimated officially to be worth. They sometimes obtained, through their influential friends, a larger *jagir* than they would normally be entitled to. The extent of a *mansabdar's* *jagir* also determined his political status as, the possession of a *jagir* carried with it much prestige.[14] In return for the *jagir*, the noble was expected to devote all his time and effort to the service of the emperor.

1.2 TERMINOLOGY AND THEMES

The manner in which the *jagirdari* system evolved in the time of Akbar formed the bedrock of the Mughal governmental system. Actually such a system of granting land or revenue of land to officers had been vogue for centuries, in European as well as Asian countries. The term *jagir* which by the end of the 16th century, came to be accepted as the standard term for a revenue assignment, is actually a shortened form of the persian *jaygir* meaning 'possessing, occupying a place, fixing a habitation, making a settlement.[15] The areas whose revenue were thus

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14. As quoted in William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, (London: 1903), p.95.

15. Iqtidar Alam Khan, ' Mughal Assignment System during Akbar's Early Years, 1556-1575', in Irfan Habib, (ed.), *Medieval India*, (Delhi: 1992), p.66.

assigned by the Emperor were known as jagirs.[16] Tiyul and Iqta were established synonyms of jagir, but not as commonly used. The assignee were known as jagirdars ('holders of jagirs'); also as tuyuldars and Iqtadars, which, again, like the terms they were derived from, were not very often used.

During Akbar's reign the system relieved the emperor from the task of revenue collection and also enabled him to extend the boundaries of this empire. It also, therefore, brought more area under imperial control. There is some strength in the view that such a policy might have served to bring more area under actual cultivation,[17] even for which they were given incentive. 'One of the recommendation made by Mir Fathullah Shirazi was obviously inspired by the desire to offer some incentive to the jagirdar to improve the condition of his charge. 'It was laid down that if any assignee made his Iqta (jagir) populous (abad)and increased its revenue, his rank was to be raised so that by getting additional pay he

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16. "Bahar-i-Ajam, the great Persian dictionary completed in 1739-40 in India, offers a definitio of its technical sense, Jaigir, Jagir. A tract of land which kings grant to mansabdars and (persons) of that kind, that they might take its revenue (mahsul) from cultivation, whatever it be".

17. Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 2:560-61, 'As it appear that the appointment of a large number of men to be jagirdars seem to lend some support to the view, that Akbar's object was to bring more parts of the empire which were still uncultivated under cultivation.'

might enjoy the fruits of his efforts.'[18] 'The assignment of a *jagir* to a noble was a pure revenue assignment rather than an administrative-cum-fiscal charge like the *Iqta* of the Delhi Sultanate period. It was never a fixed territorial unit and had no connection except for convenience of assignment with the administrative units, such as the *sarkars* and *parganas*.'[19]

Primarily the system was evolved to secure the efficient and disciplined service of a body of men and at the same time relieve the government of the enormous burden of actual land revenue collection along with the maintenance of law and order. But in spite of this the adequate attention has not yet been paid by scholars of this problems of medieval Indian History. When the system was still evolving and had not yet been standardized, it presented a different picture from the fully developed Mughal system that has been studied in some detail by scholars. Under Akbar the system was an arrangement which fulfilled the special requirements of the Mughal polity in India as it evolved during the period of study. During this period the Mughals were struggling desperately for survival in the face of persisting local and regional hostility. The proposed research will take up this issue

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18. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Translated by H.Beveridge, 3:692.

19. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'Mughal Assignment System During Akbar's Early years 1556-1575', *Medieval India*, p.63.

as an independent question and treats it in as comprehensive manner as possible. The present study will only focusing the attention on a period of 50 years of Akbars reign and on an area covering the Akbari provinces of Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Gujarat, Agra, Malwa, Awadh, Ajmer, Delhi, Allahabad, Bengal and Bihar.

1.3 RELATED RESEARCH

W.H.Moreland, (Agrarian System of Moslem India, Cambridge, 1929) was probably among the first historians to focus on this problem, and highlight the important aspects of the system of jagirs. He avoided the world 'fief' by which jagir had till then been termed and preferred to use 'revenue assignment' as an alternative. A stage-wise study of the revenue rate was made by him along with its collection and the responsibility of different officers. Irfan Habib, (The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707, Bombay, 1963) further included in his study an investigation of the jagirdari system, its nature and its transfer system in Mughal India in general. N.A. Siddiqi, (land Revenue Administration under the Mughal, 1707-1750, Bombay, 1962) studied the jagirdari system of the later Mughals. These scholars, however, did not make a detailed study of the jagirdari system during the earlier formative period, its relation with jagirdars and the Emperor. These work are, therefore, more in the nature of larger studies covering a larger period of about 150

years. But is, perhaps, needed more urgently is a closer reign-wise and period-wise scrutiny. But we are also indebted to Moreland and Irfan Habib for a clear exposition of the basic features of the system of these assignment.

Satish Chandra (Parties and Politics at Mughal Court 1707-1740, Delhi, 1959) has studied the jagirdari crisis as it emerged during the later period of the Mughals. Another work, that has greatly enriched our understanding of this topic is Athar Ali's 'The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, Delhi, 1966. But a major breakthrough in this direction has more recently been made by Iqtidar Alam Khan in his article, 'Mughal Assignment System During Akbar's early years 1556-1575' in Irfan Habib (ed.) Medieval India, Delhi, 1992. He has studied the revenue rates, clan influence of jagirdars, and their relation with the central authority. He also refers to the pargana and sarkar-wise jagirs which was allotted to nobles.

Thus the sum total of the work so far done on this jagirdari system of Akbar's period is comparatively meagre. The subjects, dealt with by these scholars, however, present some of the most complicated problems to the student of the Muslim period and the nature of available data on these subjects is such that, they are always likely to remain controversial. However these work are of great value for future researchers in this fields.

1.4 MANSAB AND JAGIR

The Mughal jagirdars were usually mansabdars holding ranks (mansabs) granted to them by the emperor. The scales of pay and ranks were carefully laid down and the mansabdars received their emoluments either in cash (Naqdi) from the treasury or, as was more common, were assigned a particular area as jagir. Hence make the close relation between mansabdars and jagirdars. In the Mughal period under Akbar every of jagirdar was a mansabdar of the rank of 10 zat to 10,000 zat. Every mansabdars was not necessarily a jagirdar. He could receive his pay as cash then he would be known as naqdi). But during Akbar's reign it seems that the maximum number of nobles received their salary in the form of jagir. The overlaping was inescapable and when we discuss certain aspects of the mansabdars' life it is to a great extent also a study of the nobles' role as jagirdars.

The term mansabs[20] indicated under the Mughals the position of its holder (mansabdar) in the official hierarchy. A mansab by itself was not an office. It determined only the status of the noble and also fixed his

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20. The Arabian say mansib; in Persia and India, the word is pronounced mansab. It means a post, an office, hence mansabdars, an officer; but the word is generally restricted to high officials. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:247.

pay (either cash or jagir)[21] Each noble in the service of the state obtained a mansab.[22] It has been suggested that the origins of the mansab system even existed in Turkish armies. There may be some truth in this, but it is important to remember that the mansabdari[23] system as instituted by Akbar was different in certain vital respects from the earlier system. It was both more complex and more manageable. The organisation of the mansab was divided into thirty-three grades,[24] beginning with a number of 10 zat and taking it to the rank of 12,000 zat, though the rank above 5000 zat were only the privilege of the royal princes. It was only towards the end of Akbar's reign that a few men were promoted to 7000 zat. They were either the emperor's special relations or men with a particularly distinguished record. The top ranks reached by the princes or distinguished nobles are as follow:-

Salim	12000 zat /10,000 sawar	M.U.T.2:353; A.N. 3:998
Murad	9000 zat	M.U.T.2:353
Daniyal	77000 zat/7000 sawar	M.U.T.2:353; A.N.3:1077

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21. Irfan Habib, The Mansab System, Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, (1967):221-22.

22. William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, p.3.

23. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.38; Abdul Aziz, The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, pp.16-25

24. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:249-50.

Khusrau	10,000 zat	A.N.3:1257
Raja Man Singh (Farzand)	7000zat/6000sawar	A.N.3:1257
Mirza Aziz Koka (Akbar's foster brother)	7000zat/6000sawar	A.N.3:1211
Mirza Shrukh	7000zat/5,500sawar	A.N.3:1257

In case a noble was promoted to a higher rank he was awarded an increase in the value of his jagir.[25] So that he could maintain an additional number of troops. A close scrutiny of the sources of Akbar's reign reveals that for much of this period there was a single rank. It was only towards the close of the second half of his reign that the sawar[26] rank was introduced. Towards the end of the reign, the term sawar is mentioned with the zat rank. Upon this dual rank rested the official status of the Mughal noble and the salary he could claim.[27]

1.5 GEOGRAPHICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DESCRIPTION

A geographical and administrative description of Mughal empire under Akbar: Man and his environment are the two chief motive forces of human history which is but the

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25. In 1596 Mirza Sharukh's rank being increased to 5000/2500, he was granted an enhanced jagir in Ujjain and Malwa, Akbarnama, 3:1069.

26. The zat rank determined the personal pay of the mansabdars while the sawar rank decided the strength of the contingent he was expected to maintain.

27. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:257-58.

result of the action and reaction of these two forces. The conduct and activities of man are conditioned by his natural or physiographical environment within which he must needs act and move. Geography has not only exercised considerable influence in determining the boundaries of political divisions but also in shaping their administrative peculiarities. The study of geography regarded as integral to the study of history and it is universally admitted that the significance of the administration division of any age or country cannot properly be appreciated without an adequate insight into the environmental condition which have influenced the growth.

No other country in the world has perhaps been so deeply influenced by its geographical features as in India. 'Geography' say Patricia Kendell, "reigns supreme in India." The boundaries of the different provinces and their divisions have been since the ancient time, often determined by geographical features. Geographical features greatly add to the solidarity and unity of certain tracts, create a feeling of oneness and unity of interest and help the growth of well organised governments. The exposed or protected condition of the frontiers of a kingdom is always a great controlling factor of its policy and military strength. It also shapes the character of the administration.

On the administrative institution of a country its

geography wields an influence of very far reaching importance. There are many examples of the manner in which the geographical conditions have been moulded the administrative organisation and the policy of a kingdom. The ancient Indian state is many way provided the basis for political division under Muslim rule. For instance, the sarkars of the province of Ajmer were constituted out of one of more former Rajput kingdom. Infact the sarkars of Chittor, Bikaner and Jodhpur were still nothing but the former states. In other provinces where the state were smaller in extent and importance, they were constituted into mahals or parganas.[28]

For the Mughal empire it is true that there is enough information available for us for making an accurate geographical and administrative division of the empire. A considerable amount of information regarding the geographical and administrative boundaries of Mughal empire has been conveniently assembled in a systematic form by Abul Fazl in his great record of Akbar's empire. The Am-i-Akbari, his 'Account of the twelve Subas' is helpful for understanding the geographical and administrative divisions (Sarkars and parganas) of the Mughal empire during reign of Akbar. Each suba or government is there described with minute exactitude, the

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28. P.Saran, Provincial Government of Mughal, 1526-1658 (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1973), p.3.

geographical and relative situation of the cities and smaller towns (market towns, qasbas) is there indicated; the enumeration of the natural and industrial product is carefully traced there; as also the name of the princes, both Hindu and Musalman, to whom the suba had been subject before its inclusion in the empire. These description accompanied by statical tables.

The empire founded in India by Babur, had attained, under the reign of Akbar, a great extension, and stretched from Afghanistan up to the head of the gulf of Bengal, from the Himalayas up to the Deccan. Due to the excellent government established by Akbar, the province, long ravaged by intestine wars, had acquired a new shape.

In the 40th year of Divine Era (1594 A.D.) 'His Majesty's (Akbar) dominions consisted of one hundred and five sarkars (divisions of a subas) subdivided into two thousand seven hundred and thirty seven township (qasba)'[29] 'When the ten years settlement of the revenue was made (which amounted to an annual rental of three Arabs, sixty two krors, ninty seven lakhs, fifty five thousand two hundred forty six dams °Rs.9,07,43,881§ and twelve lakhs of betel leaves.[30] Akbar empire length from Hindu-koh, on the border of Badakshan to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from east to

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29. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 2:129.

30. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari,2:129.

west, was 1680 legal kos. Its breadth from Kashmir to the hills of Barign, which is on the borders of Surat and Gujarat, is 800 kos Ilahi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kumaon to borders of the Deccan, which amounts to 1000 Ilahi Kos.[31] Irfan Habib stated that the area of Mughal empire under Akbar, 9,79,644, Square miles (Ahmadnagar is excluded).[32] The population of Akbar empire was 60 millions, and that of India in 1600 was 100 millions.[33] Desai stated 64.9 million population during Akbar reign.[34] The total cultivation in 1601 was 50 to 55 percent of what it was during the first decade of the present century.[35] The ratio of urban population to rural in 1601 was 15:85, the average agriculture holding in 1601 were 10 percent larger than in 1901 A.D.[36]

The Akbar apportioned the empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of suba and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of

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31. Dr.Pant, The Commercial Policy of the Moguls, p.40.

32. Irfan Habib, Atlas of Mughal Empire, Introduction, xvii.

33. W.H.Moreland, India at Death of Akbar, pp.16-22.

34. Desai, 'Population and Standard of Living in Akbar Times,' Indian Economics and Social History Review, vol.IX, No.1, 1972, pp.34-62.

35. Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal empire,c.1595, p.401.

36. Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c.1595, p.401.

country or its capital city. These were Allahabad, Agra, Awadh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, And Malwa. When Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadanagar were conquered, their number fixed at fifteen.

1.6. SOURCES AND METHOD

We can now pass on to a brief discussion on our method and sources. The sources for the study of this topic are available in the form of contemporary, and near contemporary and even modern works. Among our most important sources of the contemporary accounts are the Akbarnama and Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh of Abdul Qadir Badaoni. The bulk of information can be gathered from these works. Both Abul Fazl and Badaoni frequently mention the jagirs held by many nobles. Hence having first collected the stray references to the jagir system, the name of the jagirs and the name of its holders from contemporary and the near contemporary chronicles, it can be ascertained from the Ain-i-Akbari as to the place in which the assigned jagirs lay and in which suba. For plotting the jagirs of different nobles on maps valuable help was taken from Irfan Habib's, 'Atlas of the Mughal Empire'. By the help of this Atlas we could identify and locate the jagirs of different nobles and arrange them in a systematic manner. Some of the jagir names are mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari

or the Atlas. In this respect the chronicles of Akbar reign particularly the Akbarnama and Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh have been found more fruitful than the Ain-i-Akbari. The latter has, however, been greatly useful in identifying the jagirs of various nobles. As far as the jagirdari system is concerned, we collected a large number references from contemporary and near contemporary sources and cross- checked them with secondary works on this system. This revealed some of the changes that took place in the system during different periods of Mughal rule. The jagirdars were given titles, gifts and ranks by Akbar and these also find mention in these work. An attempt has been made to tabulate this systematically in a comprehensive manner. We have also made an effort to establish the emperor's relations with jagirdars on the basis of his sympathy and his personal attitude and his ideas to show how he was affected by the different groups, which were constituted on the basis of family, race, clan and religious background.

Towards the end an attempt has also been made to examine the position of Chieftains as jagirdars. All relevant information about chieftains and their role as jagirdars has been collected from contemporary and near contemporary sources. The study has been further supported by material available in the works of A.R.Khan, P.Saran, W.H.Moreland and Irfan Habib.

The account of some foreign travelers have also occasionally supplied us with useful information not contained in the chronicles about the jagir system. The value of the foreigner's accounts consists mainly in the descriptions of the country and its economic, social and political condition as they saw in it different places and at different periods. Some of them have also attempted to describe the jagirdari crisis and escheat system, but in this respect they have nearly always failed to give a correct description.

A few additional words about our main sources may be of relevance here. The Ain-i-Akbari still remains an unrivaled source of our knowledge for understanding the political institutions, geographical and administrative divisions of the Mughal empire. His 'Account of twelve Subas' as given in the Ain-i-Akbari has been particularly useful in identifying the pargana and sarkars alongwith the approximate value of the jagirs that were allotted to jagirdars. But it fails to throw sufficient light upon the actual working of the jagirdari system. On certain topics the Ain-i-Akbari tells us the theory and ideal only and not actual facts, while on many others it furnishes the actual facts and details.

The Akbarnama is the main source for the study of our topic Hidden in the middle of Abul Fazl's rather difficult language are very useful bits of information concerning the jagirdari system and its basic features.

Abdul Qadir Badaoni's, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh proves quite useful in supplementing Abul Fazl's account and in filling vital gaps.

The Tabaqat-i-Akbari of Nizamuddin has also been useful. As the bakhshi of Gujarat, and later as the Mir bakhshi the author was familiar with the working of the Mughal government. He was an eyewitness to many important events. The Tabaqat-i-Akbari, however, is much briefer than the Akbarnama or the Mutakhab-ut-Tawarikh. Tarikh-i-Qandahari, of Haffi Muhammad 'Arif Qandahari, and the Tazkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar of Bayazid Bayat are two other vital chronicles for Akbar's reign. Both of these men served in the establishments of high officers. Qandahari was the mir-i-samana (chief of household) of Bairam Khan, Akbar's regent, and later served under Muzaffar Khan Turbati, one of the leading administrators. Bayzid Bayat served in the household of Munim Khan, who became one of chief officers with the title of Khan Khanan after the death of Bairam Khan. He dictated his memoirs in his old age, in accord once with an imperial order for the compilation of recollections of Humayun's period. These works contain crucial information from the personal experience of their authors, but even for the early periods the major chronicles are more valuable.

The Tarikh-i-Farishta, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri and Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri also supplement here and there the information contained in these sources.

In addition to these standard sources, the account of biographies also occasionally supplied us with useful information about this topic. The biographies of nobles written by Blochmann in the translation of the Ain-i-Akbari are another class of material, and a convenient compilation of information, connected with the lives of the chief officers and amirs and their relations with the king and the various activities of their lives. It also mention rarely the reference of jagir and the nobles earlier life. The Maasir-ul-Umara is the well known work of Samsam-ud-Daula, which gives the lives of the nobles and officers of the Mughal Empire in three volumes. The chief defect in the work is that it contains no references to the source of information. Nevertheless the maasir is of considerable, utility as it contains much information which is not found in the material at present available because many of the authorities on which the author worked are no longer extant. Tazkirat-ul-Umara, by Kewal Ram also contains short biographical notice on the amir of the empire, and extended till the end of Aurangzeb's reign. The work is divided into two parts, which deal with Muslim and Hindu amirs separately. The names are arranged according to their rank. It is very useful for tracing the successive promotions of officers and the various duties entrusted to them at different times. The latter portion contains short notices on miscellaneous topics.

We now pass on brief to the regional histories including those of provincial dynasties. They have greatly supplemented the information of the general chronicles about the chief in the region they have covered.

For the suba of Gujarat the Mirat-i-Sikandari of Sikandar Ibn Muhammad and the Mirat-i-Ahmadi of Ali Muhammad Khan have been very helpful. The former was compiled in 1611 A.D. Its author, Sikandar Ibn Muhammad had been a contemporary of Akbar and had served Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka in his campaign against the last Muzaffarid Sultan of Gujarat in 1591-92 A.D. In addition to the useful information he supplies to us regarding Mansabdars who has administrative post in Gujarat. He also supplements, here and there the information of the Akbarnama. But the Mirat-i-Ahmadi of Ali Muhammad Khan although written about the middle of 18th century, is more elaborate on our subject than the Mirat-i-Sikandari. Its author was the last of Mughal diwan of suba Gujarat and as such he had personal knowledge of Gujarat. He wrote his work, a major portion of which deals with the administration of Gujarat under the Mughal, after painstaking research into the administration of Gujarat prior to his times and occasionally appended the document he has utilised, in the body of his work.

Among other regional works we may mention the Dalpat Vilas and the works of Munhot Nainsi which have

greatly enriched our information about the mansabdar of suba Ajmer. The author of the Dalpat vilas was contemporary to our period and dedicated his work to his patron Dalpat, the son of Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner. The works of Munhot Nainsi, inspite of the fact that they were written more than half a century after Akbar's death, are much more useful than any other Rajasthani work for the precision and minuteness of their detail. Munhot Nainsi (d.1670) was the diwan of Jodhpur during the period of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and has to his credit the two works known as Munhot Nainsi Ki Khyat and Marwar ra Pargana ri Vigat. Former was compiled on the basis of the khyats and the existing vamshavalis procured by the author from the bards of Rajasthan. The latter work gives a very exhaustive account of the various pargana of Marwar and from the nature of evidence it contains, it may be favourable compared with the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl. The author being personally connected with the revenue administration, gives a very vivid account of the administration of Marwar of his times. But he also gives us glimples of Marwar and its administration prior to his times. In addition, to this he also gives historical sketches of the various pargana of Marwar which have considerably helped us in determining the area of pargana which was assigned to jagirdars in the period under review.

Some of Modern works on regional histories which have considerably supplemented the information of the contemporary works. The two volume History of the Panjab Hill State by Hutchinson. In addition to the persian chronicles which the author has extensively used he also carefully examined the dynastic vamshavalis of the various hill states of the Panjab and has exhaustively utilised the epigraphical records. Among the modern works, the 19th century histories of Rajasthan cannot be overlooked. The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan of Tod and the Virvinod of Kaviraj Shayamaldas, in spite of the romanticism of the former and the prejudices of the latter, are exceedingly valuable in working out the extent of the principalities of various dynasties of suba Ajmer. Malcolm's Memoir of Central India Including Malwa is a useful work for the region which constituted the Akbari suba of Malwa.

Others Histories, chronicles and memoirs are all very valuable and contain abundant data bearing on the jagirdari system. But they say nothing directly concerning the jagirdars. We have to rely on incidental references only. Occasionally some jagirs characteristics are also mentioned.

1.7 CHAPTER PLAN

A brief references may now be made to the manner in which the different topics have been dealt with in this work.

The opening chapter is in the nature of a introduction to the _jagirdari_ system and its relation with the overall Mughal system, including the _Khalisa_ territory and _Suyurghal_. Under this chapter I give a geographical and administrative description of the Mughal empire under Akbar. It also covers a review of the literature and existing source materials.

The second chapter basically dwells upon the _jagirdari_ system in its evolving stages, _jagirdar's_ relation with the central Diwan, the administrative checks upon the _jagirdars_ crown-_jagir_ relation the _jagirdars_ transfer system and role of some influential _jagirdars_. For the study of these features in detail the chapter has been sub-divided into different sections.

The third chapter comprises an examination of the procedure of jagir allotment and certain other intricacies related to the places where these were allotted. The allotment of jagirs to nobles has been arranged in a tabular format in a chronological order, containing information classified under the following heads: Date, name of assignee, place of _jagir_ (i.e. in which _Sarkar_ and _Suba_) and references by sources. It also includes the maps in which the _jagirs_ have been shown. This I hope will be found interesting and helpful.

In Chapter four an attempt has been made to study the clan position of _jagirdars_ and their ranks. During Akbar's reign the family, group and clan also played an

important role in the Administration of Akbar.

Chapter fifth deals with the promotions, feasts, honours and titles which were conferred upon *jagirdars* by Akbar. I have also attempted to deal with the presents which were given by the nobles to Akbar and vice-versa. In this chapter I have also discussed the visits of the emperor to the houses of important nobles.

Chapter sixth deals with the Chieftains role as *jagirdars*. It covers only those chieftains who, after their submission were included among the Akbari *mansabdars*. It also cover a study of the *jagir* which were assigned to chieftains in addition of their *Watans*.

By way of the final chapter it is hoped that the information obtained regarding various features of the *jagirdari* system would serve to highlight the changes that may have occurred not only in the *jagirdari* system but also in the administrative structure of the empire by implication.

CHAPTER : 2

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE *JAGIRDARI* SYSTEM

The *jagirdari* system as it evolved in the reign of Akbar formed the bedrock on which the administrative structure of the Mughal empire was raised. The principle official obligation of the *mansabdars* was the maintenance of cavalry. In order to meet the financial costs of this obligation they were given jagirs.

2.1 GENERAL PATTERNS

The *jagirdar* was entitled to collect the revenue from the area assigned to him as *jagir*. This helped him to meet not only his personal expenses but also those of the cavalry contingent that he was expected to maintain for the service of the emperor. The *Chaudhuris* or *deshmukhs*, *qanungos* and *muqaddams* and the peasants and the cultivators were answerable to the assignee for the whole of the *mal-i-wajib* (revenue) and *huquq-i-Diwan* (fiscal demands). Though this consisted mainly of land revenue, it could also include the numerous additional cesses which were probably exacted by officials even in the fairly distant rural areas.[1] Generally speaking, the market of

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1. Abdul Qadir ibn Muluk Shah Badauni, Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, 2nd ed., 3 vols. Translated by W.H. Iowe, reprint ed., (Delhi: IDARAH-I-ADBIYAT-I-DELHI, 1973), 2:74.

the large towns and the ports were constituted into separate *mahals* (as distinct from the *parganas*, or territorial mahals), but these again were as frequently assigned in *jagir* as the others. [2]

The jagir was usually assigned in lieu of the *mansabdar's* service to the state, now it was necessary to determine in each case an area that would yield in revenue an amount equivalent to the sanctioned pay.[3] A standing assessment, or *jama*, was, therefore prepared for each unit of territory, the village and more especially, the *parganas* or *mahals*. To serve best this *jama* should have approximated as closely as possible to the actual collection or *hasil*. As Abul Fazl makes quite clear, the working out of such a *jama* was one of the chief objective of Akbar's revenue policy.[4] As a rule *jagirs* were conditional on rendering military service, but we also hear of a *jagir* to which no military service[5] was

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2. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India(1556-1707), (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House,1963), p.259.

3. A.Jain Qaisar, 'Description of the Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire Among The Nobility', Proceddings of the Indian History Congress, 27 (1965): 237.

4. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2nd ed., 3 vols. Translated by Beveridge (New Delhi: Saeed International, 1989), 2:402-3.

5. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 3rd ed., 3 vols. Translated by H.Blochmann, revised by D.C.Phillot, (Delhi:Low Price Publications, 1989), 1:271.

attached. This appears to be called bedagh-o-mahalli,[6] i.e., the holder had neither to provide any military contingent nor to collect taxes. Badaoni had such a jagir of 1000 bighas at which he often grumbled calling himself by jokingly a hazari or commander of one thousand.[7] The jagir of Fattullah Shirazi of Baswar was of the same nature.[8]

As has been stated in the introductory chapter a noble who received their salary in jagir are known as jagirdars and who receive their salary in cash were known as naqdi. During the earlier period of Akbar's reign the nobles' salaries were paid by either of these means. But in the later period of his reign there were quite a number of nobles who received their salary partly in cash and partly in jagir.[9] The system of granting land to the noble had been in vague for centuries, in European as well as Asian countries. Among the Mongols and Turks, a kind of jagirdari system was prevalent. Chingiz Khan and Timur allotted substantial jagirs to their nobles. The latter

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6. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:271. See note by Blochmann.

7. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:353.

8. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:379.

9. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:998-999.

laid down the guidelines for granting jagirs to nobles.[10] According to K.M.Ashraf, 'The system of assignment in the form in which it came to India was first designed by the Calipha Muqtadir.'[11]

There is nothing in the available literature to indicate that either Babur or Humayun made any significant alterations in this system, they accepted what they found.[12] Babur distributed assignments to his nobles soon after the battle of Panipat.[13] It has been generally said that Babur, after his victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi and occupation of Agra, 'parcelled out the land and cities of the more settled regions amongst his officers, or jagirdars, who levied land-tax from the peasant cultivators, the duties from the merchants and shop-keepers, and the pool-tax from non-Muslim'.[14] The revenue assignments made by Babur to his nobles are generally

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10. Sharfudin Ali Yezdi, Political and Military Institute of Tamerlane, Translated by Major Davy, (New Delhi: IDARAH-I-ADABIYAT-I-DELHI, 1972), pp.85-86.

11. K.M.Ashraf, Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan (Delhi:Jiwan Prakashan, 1970),p.58.

12. W.H.Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, (Delhi: Munshiram Manohar Lal, 1968), p.79.

13. Gulbadan Begam, Humayunnama, Translated by A.S.Beveridge, reprint ed., (Delhi: Oriental Books, Reprint, 1983), p.14 text.

14. Zahiru-ud-din Muhammad Padi Shah Ghazi Babur, Baburnama, 2 vols.as I. Translated by A.S.Beveridge, reprint ed., (New Delhi:Oriental Books Reprint, 1979),p.185 text.

referred to as *wajh* and casually with two other synonyms viz., *wajh-i-istiqamat* and *wajh-i-ulufa*. The holders of such assignments are called *wajhdars*.[15] Humayun also confirmed the assignments which had been given to nobles by his father,[16] and we also hear of his granting new assignments in Bengal and elsewhere. Jahangir wrote, "our ancestors and forefathers were in the habit of granting *jagirs* to everyone under proprietory title."[17] No doubt in the beginning of Akbar's reign the assignment of *jagirs* to the nobles was similar in many ways to that which was followed by his ancestors. The cities, towns and villages were distributed among officers according to their rank. "The whole country" wrote Badami, "with the exception of those lands held immediately for the crown (*Khalisa* lands) were held by the *amirs* as *jagirs*.[18] But Akbar sought to improve the functioning of the system. That is why according to Moreland, 'we may fairly treat the accession of Akbar as the opening of a new period.'[19]

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15. Ahsan Raza Khan, 'Babur's settlement of his conquests in Hindustan', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 27 (1965):211.

16. Gulbadan Begam, Humayun nama, p.25 text.

17. Nurud din Muhammad Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Translated by Akexanderj Rogers, Revised by Henry Beveridge, reprint ed., (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978), p.23.

18. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:193.

19. W.H.Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.80.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign, the Mughal empire appeared to be divided into seven or eight military zones, commanded by leading nobles from their headquarters at Kabul, Qandahar, Lahore, Multan, Delhi, Agra, Etawa, Kalpi and Sambhal. Within these military zones these were many nobles who also held smaller charges under the commandant (hakim) of a larger territory.[20] Side by side with this there also existed revenue assignments of individual nobles. The jagir of the hakim (commandant of large territory) would mostly be located within the territory controlled by him. The territory controlled from Delhi extended over a number of surrounding sarkars. Tardi Beg administered this entire territory from Delhi, but his own jagir was located in Mewat,[21] which lay within suba Delhi. The sarkar of Narnaul apparently comprised the military charge as well as the revenue assignment of one of Tardi Beg's subordinate, Manjun Khan Qaqshal.[22] Similar arrangements also seem to have existed in other parts.

If the nobles were in overall military-administrative charge of a sarkar or suba, it did not mean that the whole revenue of that sarkar or suba was under

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20. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Assignment System during Akbar's Early Year 1556-1575', Medieval India, in Irfan Habib (ed.), (Delhi, 1992), p.68.

21. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:25.

22. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:36.

their control. Their personal jagir was confined to only a part of that sarkar and suba under their control. Munim Khan was the overall military administrative incharge of sarkar Kabul. His personal jagir comprised only a part of the total estimated revenue of sarkar Kabul. Several places which lay within the sarkar of Kabul are known to have been held as jagirs by nobles serving as Munim Khan's subordinates. In this connection we can refer to Mir Hashim's jagir comprising Kahmard, Ghoraband and Zuhak,[23] or to Khwaja Jalaludin Muhammad holding the hukumat of Ghaznin.[24] The sarkar of Qandahar was the jagir of Bairam Khan and was administered by his deputy, Shah Muhammad Qalati.[25] But Zamindawar which was one of the vilayats of Qandahar was held by Bahadur Khan Uzbek as his military and revenue assignment.[26] But Bairam Khan's personal jagir consisted of the town (balda) of Qandahar and its environs (muzafat).[27] In the 29th R.Y. (1584) Mirza Koka was appointed as the governor of Malwa. The revenue of the whole of Malwa was not assigned to him as jagir, but

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23. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:30.

24. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:85.

25. Abul FAzi, Akbarnama, 2:25.

26. Khwajah Nizamudin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 3 vols. Translated and Annoted by Brajendrnath De, revised by Baini Prashad, Reproduced of 1st ed., (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1992), 2:130; Akbarnama, 2:82.

27. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 2:130.

only Gara and Raisin in suba Malwa.[28]

The grant of jagirs inevitably involved political considerations. Since the emperor alone could confer, increase, diminish or resume the jagir, the jagirdars were essentially his creations. But it is possible that the king sometimes delegated his authority of assigning jagirs in different regions to local commanders or specifically appointed some central officials to carry out the proper allotment of jagirs to nobles. One such case pertains to 1574 A.D. when Munim Khan was authorized by Akbar to recommend the assignment of jagirs in the eastern sarkars. Akbar is reported to have told Munim Khan 'I recognize your hand writing [A noble] will be assigned a jagir (only) after receiving a recommendation in your hand writing'.[29] Also in 1594 A.D., Kashmir was given as jagir to Ahmad Beg, Hasan Beg, Hasan Beg Gurd, Hasan Ali Arabs and Muhammad Beg Aimaq of Badakshan, and Asaf Khan was sent by Akbar to Kashmir in order that he might make a new and proper division among the jagirdars.[30] For the same purpose Shahbaz Khan was sent off to Bengal, with instructions to make over the whole of that 'District' to

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28. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:655.

29. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Assignment System during Akbar's Early Years, 1556-1575,' Medieval Indian, p.72.

30. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1004.

jagirdars.[31] During 7th R.Y. Muinuddin Khan Farankhudi, then a wazir in the Diwan-i-buyutat, was deputed to supervise the distribution of jagirs in Malwa. He was instructed to return to Agra after performing this task. 'Muin Khan after putting the country in order and allotting the fiefs proceeded to court'.[32]

It also seems that the specific location and actual value of the jagir of even the most influential mansabdars was expected to be properly approved and mentioned when the sanad was finally issued by the central Diwan. It seems that one of the causes of the breach between the Uzbek nobles and the court in 1565 A.D. was the refusal of Ali Quli Khan and other Uzbek noble to accept such control. It is noteworthy that while agreeing to stop military operations against Ali Quli Khan in 1565 A.D., without insisting on his surrender, Akbar still insisted that he would only be allowed to re-occupy his jagir after obtaining a formal sanad from the central Diwan.[33] Again, during the brief peace of 1566 A.D., Ali Quli Khan was persuaded to send his agent to Agra to obtain the formal papers of his jagir from the court.[34] There were, however, times when provincial officers

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31. Abul Qadir Badaoni, Muntkhab-ut-tawarikh, 2:333.

32. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:260-61

33. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:388; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:84.

34. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:421.

allotted *jagirs* to noble without proper approval to authority. But such allotments had later to be ratified by the emperor or the central *Diwan*. In the time of Mirza Hakim's rebellion, the emperor started on an expedition against him. Shahbaz Khan, the *Mir Bakshi* of the empire, who was assigned the task of looking after the administration, in the absence of Shah Mansur who had accompanied the emperor in his march against Mirza Hakim, granted as *jagir* the entire region lying between Garhi to the Panjab amongst officers on his own initiative, and he explained his action to the emperor as an act off expediency to reconcile the officers who otherwise would have rebelled in a body.[35] Akbar seems to have accepted this action and the explanation provided by the *Mir bakshi*. In 1560 A.D., Ali Quli who was then the *hakim* of Jaunpur and the adjoining *sarkars*, assigned *sarkar* Banaras to his younger brother, Bahadur Khan, on the presumption that he was doing it on behalf of the king.[36] We also have references, where the emperor or the central *Diwan* cancelled such a assignment. Ali Quli Khan had allotted the *jagir* of Sandila to Ismail Khan a relative of Ali Quli Khan. But this assignment was superseded by the central *Diwan*, who assigned it in *jagir* to Husain Khan Jalair.

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35. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, 2:304-5.

36. Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar*, Edited by M.Hidayat Hosain. Biblotheca Indica, no.264. (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1941), p.244.

Ali Quli Khan, who initially encouraged Ismail Quli Khan in his resistance, subsequently, appears to have relented.[37] In 1581 A.D. Shaikh Ibrahim maintained law and order at Fathpur remarkably well. Shahbaz Khan Kambuh offered the Shaikh a jagir in Mahaban (Mathura) in order that he might stop the depredation of robbers but Shaikh Ibrahim rejected it on the ground that he could accept no jagir without His Majesty's order.[38] Prince Daniyal also took away the jagirs of Mirza Sharukh when he was serving in Deccan. When this incident was related to the emperor, an order was issued to the prince stating that his resumption of the jagir was exceedingly disapproved of, and that he must restore it.[39]

The mansabdars during Akbar's reign probably preferred their jagirs to be granted within the territory of the suba and near their place of appointment. The nobles who lead armies into the battlefield or were appointed governors in provinces may even have preferred to hold jagirs as near as possible to the locality of their administrative or military charge. In 1594 A.D. Khan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka was sent on an expedition to Gujarat and his jagir was also allotted to him within the suba of

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37. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:106, 126.

38. As quoted in, S.A.A.Rizvi, Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslim in Akbar's reign (1556-1605), (New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1975), p.338.

39. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1216.

Gujarat.[40] Zain Khan who replaced Quli Khan in suba Kabul because the latter had failed to manage Afghanistan well, was given Kabul as his jagir. The other jagirdars there were ordered to act according to his orders.[41] In 1580 A.D. the emperor sent Mirza Khan to manage the country of Ajmer and granted him Ranthambhor as a fief.[42] In 1577 A.D. Bahadur Khan upon being shifted to Multan as jagirdar was also ordered to suppress the Biluchis near that area, who were in a state of unrest.[43] Around the year (1590-91) A.D., 'the emperor took away Jaunpur from Khan Khanan and put him incharge of the government of Multan and Bhakkar. He was also entrusted with the task of subduing the Kingdom of Sindh and Baluchistan and to settle of hash of Mirza Jani Beg'.[44]

Down to 1560 or 1561 A.D., apparently the revenue assignments covered a compact territory of contiguous parganas or sarkars. This is suggested by references in the sources to the assignment of jagirs and the appointment of hakims. Before 1560 A.D. one does not come across any case where one part of the salary of a noble was assigned against a fraction of the revenue of one

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40. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:629.

41. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:720.

42. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:480.

43. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:94.

44. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:386.

pargana and the other pargana. It would appear that till 1560 A.D. the salaries of the nobles were arbitrarily settled in term of the jama of the pargana against which it was assigned. Under this practice, a noble could hold as his jagir part of a pargana, one whole pargana, or several contiguous parganas and a fraction of another adjacent pargana, but it was never in parts against the partial jama of two or more parganas. When around 1560 A.D., an attempt was made by the officials of the Central Diwan to fragment the jagir of a senior noble by assigning it against the partial jama of two different parganas, it prompted the nobles to accuse the officials of vindictiveness. Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka[45] in his letter to Akbar, written around December, 1560 A.D. complains bitterly that one crore copper tankas sanctioned as his 'juldu' the authorities had assigned forty lakhas (80 lakhas dams) against Firuzpur. We know that at the time of the compilation of the Ain-i-Akbari the jama of Firuzpur amounted to 1,14,79,404 dams.[46] This indicates that the rest of the revenue of the pargana were either assigned to some other noble or were reserved for the Khalisa. The remaining 60 lakh copper tankas (120 Lakh dams), of Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka's assignment were to be given to him elsewhere. This was, apparently, viewed by

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45. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:182.

46. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 2:335.

him as a deviation from established practice.[47] There is also other evidence which suggests that earlier the parganas assigned to a noble were always contiguous ones. Bayazid Bayat tells us that in December 1560 A.D. 'Ali Quli Khan was assigned (Jagir Kardand) sarkars Jaunpur, Banaras, Ghazipur and some of the parganas of Sarkars Manikpur and Awadh'.[48] Apparently, part of 'Ali Quli Khan's salary that exceeded the total jama of sarkars Jaunpur, Banaras and Ghazipur, was assigned against some of the parganas of two neighbouring sarkars. It is significant that both the sarkars bordered upon sarkar Jaunpur. This would strongly suggest that these parganas were contiguous to the rest of the territory of 'Ali Quli Khan's jagir, of which sarkar Jaunpur was a part'.

In the evolution of the jagir system under Akbar, a crucial development seems to have taken place in 1561 A.D. It is around this time that certain far-reaching changes in the working of the jagir system become discernible. A significant change introduced around 1560 A.D. onwards, was that the jagirs of great noble come to be assigned in fragments scattered over a number of parganas located at considerable distance from each other. Sometime between 1561 A.D. and 1563 A.D. Munim Khan's compact jagir at Hisar Firuza was also reduced by almost

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47. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:18.

48. Bayazid Bayat, Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar, p.239.

half and for this he was compensated by being assigned *jagirs* in the widely scattered *sarkars* of Etawah and Khairabad and the *parganas* of Shahpur (in *Sarkar* Bari Doab), Jallandhar (in *sarkar* Bet-Jallandhar Doab)and Inderi (in *sarkar* Sharnpur).[49] In the year 39th R.Y. (1594 A.D.) Jahangir was assigned Ten thousand cavalry, five thousand (of them) received *jagirs* in Bengal and four thousand received *jagirs* near Lahore the capital.[50]

2.2 *KHALISA* LAND AND ITS RELATION WITH *JAGIRS*

It was not necessary that an area once assigned as *jagir* would permanently remain classified as *jagir* would permanently remain classified as *jagir* land. In principle the revenue claim on the entire land belonged to the emperor. Any *jagir* could be converted into *Khalisa* land by the emperor for whatever reason he wished. It was on grounds of political, economic or administrative expediency that these changes were usually made. In 1561 A.D. *sarkar* Hisar Firuza which was the *jagir* of Munim Khan was converted into *Khalisa*,[51] and put under a *hakim* appointed from the central *Diwan*. In the 39th R.Y. 1593 A.D. Bandar Lahari was made crown property (*Khalisa*), and Swistan, which had been a present (*peshkash*) in the first

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49. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:293-94; Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar*, pp.240, 248, 299.

50. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:998-99.

51. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:293-94.

instance, was given in fief to Bakhtiyar Beg and some others.[52] In the year 1574 A.D. Jaunpur and Banaras were converted into Khalisa land from jagir land.[53] There is also the case of Narnaul being converted from Khalisa to Jagir land in 1563 A.D.[54]

However, area which was converted into crown land at a given point of time could later also be allotted as jagir. Later it could once again be reconverted into Khalisa lands. The example of Jaunpur is one such example of this kind. It was converted into Khalisa and Jagir lands alternatively. Similarly Kashmir was converted into crownland so that order could be restored there before its being parcelled out as jagir. In 1592 A.D. it was assigned as jagir to M.Yusuf Khan while in Bihar the jagir of M.Yusaf Khan was made crown land.[55] If a noble failed to administer his jagir, efficiently the emperor could resume it and allow him on salaried status. The Mirza brothers Muzaffar Husain and Rustam suffered because their agents had been oppressive on the tenants. Muzaffar Husains tenants repeatedly complained against the atrocious attitude of Muzaffar Husain and consequently his jagir were converted into crownlands and he was allowed a

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52. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:986.

53. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:185; Akbarnama, 3:144.

54. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:309.

55. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:986.

cash salary.[56] Mirza Rustam was also transferred to Pathan for a similar reason and Multan his former jagir was converted into a crown land. Badaoni wrote that, "Multan which had been completely desolate by the tyranny of Mirza Rustam, it was converted into crownland".[57] Jaunpur the bulwark against eastern sides, on a number of occasions was converted into khalisa lands. It had been in the possession of a number of important nobles. First it was with Khan-i-zaman but later it was granted to Munim Khan Khan-i-Khanan.[58]

2.3 THE DEGREE AND NATURE OF IMPERIAL CONTROL

The lands assigned to nobles in the form of jagirs were for all practical purpose subjected to the dual control of the central administration and the jagirdars. While the income of a jagir was estimated by the revenue ministry, the actual collections were made by the jagirdar or his agent.[59] Even in matters of assessing individual holdings the jagirdar was not permitted a free hand. He was required to conform to the revenue rates sanctioned by the

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56. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1110-11.

57. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:417; Akbarnama, 3:1041.

58. Abul Fazl, Akbarnnama, 3:203.

59. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:561.

revenue ministry.[60] There is good reason to believe that the internal administration of a jagir was for all practical purposes conducted in accordance with imperial regulations. This covered land revenue as well the general administration within a jagir. It is quite evident, therefore, that a jagirdar was required to collect the revenue (Mal-u-Jihat) and taxes in accordance with the establishment code (dastur-al-amal).[61] Even in matters of collection he had to forgo a part of his claim in case a remission was granted by the emperor on account of damage to crops.[62] Imperial regulations concerning matters other than land revenue were equally applicable to the jagir lands. In 1581 A.D. the jagirdars along with the other officers of the government were directed to maintain records about the inhabitants of the villages within their jurisdiction, noting their names and professions. They were further instructed to try and ensure that all inhabitants engaged in some profession of the other.[63] Abul Fazl also mentions that the jagirdars

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60. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.273

61. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:561.

62. In 1586 A.D. Akbar granted remissions in the province of Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi. the remissions in the Khalisa lands amounted to 70,74,762 dams. Abul Fazl, adds that the 'remissions granted in Iqtas can be calculated accordingly'.

63. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:509.

were required to report about their jagirs.

The internal administration of _jagir_ lands was supervised and controlled in more than one way. The governor (_subadar_) was the overall incharge of a province. The _amirs_ and _jagirdars_ within the province were normally subservient to his authority and had to visit him on being asked to do so. The governor was also to see that the servants got their due from the _amir_ and _jagirdars_ as fixed by central authority. The sawanih nigars (news writers) posted in the different areas were required to report the activities of the _jagirdars_ and the conditions that prevailed in their _jagirs_. If a _jagirdar_ was reported to be oppressive or if he failed to conform to the imperial regulations, he was liable to punishment. The punishment involved the transfer or resumption of the _jagir_ or the imposition of a fine. Besides this the local administration also served as a check as the working of the land revenue administration within a _jagir_. Whereas the right to assess and collection of land revenue vested with the _jagirdars_, the executive authority vested in the _faujdar_ who was also associated with land revenue and exercised general supervision over several matters related to the _jagir_.[64] It is said that the _Faujdar_ and the

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64. See N.A.Siddiqi, Faujdar and Faujdari under the Mughals, _Medieval India Quarterly_, 4(1966): 22,35; N.A. Siddiqi, _Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals (1700-1750)_, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1970), p.113.

amin should see to it that none of the cesses remitted by the court were collected by any person entrusted with the work of collection. Besides this the Faujdars were to keep in check the rebellious attitude of the jagirdars. In case the jagirdars tended to be rebellions, he was to prevent them by advice and if that failed he was to collect the evidence of the principal officers in written and punish such jagirdars.[65] Moreover, there were some other local officers (ahl-i-khidmat)[66] who were appointed by the Court. They were required to report those activities of the agents of the jagirdars which interfered with their authority.[67] Among these officers were the chaudhari, the qanungo and the qazi.

It should also be noted that dishonesty amongst jagirdars was found to be rather widespread. This forced Akbar to adopt some more measures to check it. The system of a double rank (zat and sawar) which appeared during the second half of Akbar's reign was probably started with the purpose of compelling every mansabdars to maintain a definite number of horses and cavalrymen for use in the

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65. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 2:42, See also for detail about the Position of Faujdars, in Ain-i-Akbari, 2:41-42.

66. N.A.Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals (1700-1750), p.113.

67. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 2:50, See also for detail about position of collectors, Bitikchis and Khazandars in Ain-i-Akbari, 2:46-63.

imperial service. In order to check all such evasions Akbar also introduced dagh (branding) for the horses and chehra (descriptive rolls) for the men.[68] Abul Fazl says that 'The servants (mansabdars) of His Majesty have their horses every year newly marked, and thus maintain the efficiency of the army, as by their endeavors unprincipled people learn to choose the path of honesty. If a mansabdar delays bringing his men to the muster, one tenth of his jagir is withheld. Formerly, when the mark was repeated, they put the number of the muster of the horse, marking, for example, a horse with a "2" when it was mustered the second time and so on, but now as each class of soldiers had a particular mark, the mark is only repeated at the subsequent musters. In case of the Ahadis, the former custom was retained, some bitikchis, and near servants of Akbar who have no leisure to look after jagirs, receive their monthly salaries in cash and muster their horses every eighteen months. Grandees, whose jagirs are very remote, donot bring their horses to the muster before twelve years have elapsed, but when six year have elapsed since the last muster, one-tenth of their income retrenched. And if a mansabdars has been promoted to a higher mansab and three years have elapsed since he last presented his horses at a muster, he receives a zat (personal) increase of salary but draws the

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68. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:266.

allowances for the increased number of his men (only) after the first muster. His old and new men then get their assignments. If at the renewal of the mark at subsequent musters, any soldier brings a superior horse in exchange of his old one, he is taken before the emperor, who inspects and accepts it.'[69]

Jagirdars were also required to visit the court from time to time. The emperor made it obligatory for officers serving in the frontier that they should periodically come to court. The purpose of this was to keep the jagirdars under as close supervision as possible. We have the instance of a farman being issued in '1001 A.H.' to Azam Khan, who had for a long period of six years absented himself. He was specifically ordered to repair to the court.[70]

2.4 THE POSITION OF POWERFUL JAGIRDARS

During the reign of Akbar the mansabdars were purely the personal creation of the emperor. The resumption and allotment of jagirs was the prerogative of the emperor. 'For the ancient usage and custom' Wrote Father Monserrate, 'Still obtain the territories acquired by conquest can be given by the king to anyone he likes, not on perpetual tenure but to be held at his pleasure.

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69. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:266-67.

70. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,3:400.

Anybody acting in contravention to this principal would earn the displeasure of the emperor.'[71] There was nothing like a hereditary claim over the jagirs. The Mughal nobility, too, therefore, at least in theory was not hereditary. Though in actual practice heredity or family prestige played an important role in the allotment of jagirs. The sons and relatives of a noblemen certainly found it easier to enter the service of the king than an outsider. When Bairam Khan was the regent of Akbar, he allotted jagirs to his own relatives and ignored the Akbari nobles.[72] He promoted one of his relatives Husain Quli, who had in no way distinguished himself in the service of the emperor to an equal position with Iskandar Khan, Abdulla Khan, and Bahadur Khan, and gave him cultivated fiefs, while he satisfied the great Khans with waste lands.[73] When Maham Anaga and her party decided to win over Bairam Khan's companions, they were promised jagirs commensurate with their status.[74] As earlier noted, family prestige or heredity also played an

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71. Father A.Monserrate, The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.on his Journey to the Court of Akbar, translated by J.S.Hoyland & annotated. S.N.Banerjee, (Milford: Oxford University Press, 1922), p.88.

72. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-i-Tawarikh, 2:30, See also Ain-i- Akbari, 1:331.

73. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:163.

74. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:30-31.

important role in the allotment of _jagirs_. After the death of Bairam Khan, the emperor expressed his sympathy to his son Mirza Khan, who was given pattan as _Jagirs_, as at that time he was not even able to look after it, Sayyid Ahmad Khan was appointed to take care of it.[75] In the year 1593 A.D. the sons of Khan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka easily obtained _jagirs_ for themselves.[76] Sometimes even after the death of an influential _jagirdar_ due sympathy was shown also to his servants. In 1590 A.D. Shihabu-d-din Ahmad Khan died in Ujjain. He had done much good service in the empire and was one of the most distinguished men of the age in the matter of developing the cultivation of the country. In order to sympathize with his relicts Shihab's fiefs of Ujjain was left to his servants.[77]

As might be expected in a centralized monarchial system based upon a small ruling class some selected and influential nobles and those belonging to the royal families were given the choicest _jagirs_. Mirza Muzaffar Husain, an Irani and related to the ruling safavid dynasty, was granted sambhal in _suba_ Delhi as his _jagir_. Mirza Rustam, another noble of the same dynasty, received Multan. In both these cases the _jagirs_ were worth more

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75. Abul Fazl, _Akbarnama_, 3:9.

76. Abul Fazl, _Akbarnama_, 3:982.

77. Abul Fazl, _Akbarnama_, 3:885.

than Qandahar.[78] In the year 1560 A D Atka Khan and his brethren were given some of the richest parts of Panjab as jagirs.[79] In the case of Khan Azim in 1583 A.D. he was appointed to Bengal. He disliked the climate of that suba and pleaded for a transfer to some other part of the empire. Akbar agreed to this request and an order was issued transferring his jagir to Bihar.[80] Again in the year 1594 A.D. Khan Azim upon being promoted as Khan-i-Azam was given a mansab rank of panjhazari and was also given a choice to select his jagirs in Gujarat, in the Panjab or in Bihar, etc. He chose Bihar.[81] Again in the year 1597 A.D. when he wanted to make amends for his former misconduct (in going to Mecca) he asked to have a jagir near the court. His request was granted and Multan was given a jagir to the Khan Azim.[82] He was also given a jagir of his choice in Malwa, when he was sent in an expedition against the rulers of the Deccan (Khandesh and Berar).[83] We have substantial reference to prove that on many occasions Akbar did allot jagirs to nobles according to their choice. Akbar even helped the influential

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78. Abul Fazl, Ain-i- Akbari, 1:328-29.

79. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:177.

80. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:594.

81. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1006.

82. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1068.

83. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:739.

jagirdars when they had grown old. In 1567 A.D. Muhammad Sultan Mirza in his old age was relieved from military service and given the pargana of Azimpur in sarkar Sambhal for his maintenance, so that he might spend his days in tranquility and in offering up prayer (for Akbar's success), several children were born to him in his old age and they all received jagirs suitable to their condition.[84]

Even though the question of high birth was given considerable importance by Akbar when granting jagirs, but due consideration was also given to ability, learning and merit of a person. In the year 1573 A.D. Akbar encamped in the neighborhood of Ahmadabad. In ten days the affairs of the country were arranged and Akbar made over the charge of the province to Khan Azim, sarkar of Pattan was bestowed upon Khan Kilan, Dhulqa and Dandoqah were given to Sayyid Hamid Bukhari, and similarly jagirs were given to many others. 'Though the Khan kilan and Qutubdin Muhammad Khan were the uncles of the Khan Aazam and were old, yet the far-sightedness of the Shihinshah put them in a subordinate position, for the code of just sovereignty weight was given to wisdom and not to years, and reliance was placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age. Farsightedness was the pillar, not bodilybulk. Intellect

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84. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:414.

was the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointment is talents and virtues, and the qualities of ancestor are not regarded.'[85] With the result of this policy a person of humble origin could rise to a high position and become a member of the Mughal mansabdari and jagirdari system. It was because of the recognition of ability and merit that many foreigner adventures were attracted to seek imperial service. They knew that if entrance was difficult promotion was not, provided they were capable of displaying their ability in the discharge of duties to them. Such a step had one great advantage, the adventurers in the employment of the Mughal emperor depended entirely on the emperor. The improvement of their fortune was based upon their remaining loyal at least so long as they were hopeful of receiving something more.

2.5 THE TRANSFER SYSTEM

Another feature of the jagirdari system was that the jagirs were constantly transferred. One of the motives for carrying out such transfers was partly to help the jagirdar who on assuming a new administrative position in some distant province and found it difficult to collect the revenue from his former jagir. It was the general

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85. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:46-47.

rule during Akbar's reign that if a noble was transferred or shifted from one place to another, his *jagir* was also transferred to the place of his new appointment. But the more important reason behind the principal of transfer was, probably, the emperor's desire to see that no *jagirdar* succeeded in developing a rooted interest in his *jagir*. Except for the *watan jagir* it had become almost an established principal not to allow a *jagir* to be held by the same person beyond a period of about four years. Such transfers might have helped the emperor in preventing the *jagirdars* from becoming local potentates and from considering any part of the country as their own and thereby making them entirely dependent on the will of the Monarch.

A *jagir* was not only transferred because of a principle. It was often transferred because a *mansabdars*, when sent to serve in a province, had to be assigned a *jagir* there, and similarly those recalled from there would require a *jagir* at their place of appointment. In 1587 (32^{th} R.Y.) A.D. Raja Man Singh the governor of Kabul was transferred to Bihar, and his *jagir* of Kabul was also transferred to Bihar.[86] Zain Khan was sent to Kabul and he was assigned *jagirs* in that province. The other *jagirdars* were ordered to act under his order.[87] Abul

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86. Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 2:622-23.

87. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:1073.

Fazl philosophizes about it in one passage and describes it as being similar in nature to the transplantation of plants which a gardner practices for the good of the plants themselves. According to him the transfer of jagirs was essential, if the jagirdars were to be kept within their proper limits and the interests of the peasants were to be protected. In order to attain these ends the jagirdars who had been concentrated in a locality had to be stationed in different regions because such a staggering led, infact to peace and stability.[88] Iqtidar Alam Khan, writes that the concentration in particular regions of jagirs of nobles belonging to the same clan in Akbar's early years also developed the process of transfer of jagirs.[89] After the Uzbek rebellion, it was felt that a strong clan holding jagirs at one place was not in the interests of the empire. Akbar seems to have decisively established this practice, therefore the Atka clan was also transferred from Panjab to other parts of the empire. Akbar thought this to be one of the bold decisions he had taken.[90] In the words of Bayazid, 'one day the emperor asked Munim Khan what people thought of him as a ruler, the Khan-i-Khanan replied that the people greatly admired

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88. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:486-7.

89. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Mughal Assignment System During Akbar's Early years, 1556-1575,' Medieval India, (ed.) Irfan Habib (Delhi:Oxford University Press, 1992), p.75.

90. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:486-7.

his bold action against Adham Khan. Akbar replied, no I have done something better which, it is strange, people do not mention. You know it but out of consideration for some people you do not tell me. I have expelled the Atkas from the Punjab and have dispersed them all over the country assigning them jagirs at different places.'[91] From that time uptill the end of Akbar's reign even to the end of 1707 A.D. the practice continued to be rigorously followed.

Akbar also took a serious view of any oppression and irregularity committed by a assignee. As it appeared in 1586 A.D. that the Rajput clan behaved with injustice towards the subjects of the country, of Kabul and that the governor Kaur Man Singh did not look closely into the case of the oppressed. When it came to the emperor's notice he transferred Kaur Man Singh to Bihar.[92] Zain Khan Koka was appointed in his place. Another consideration which had to be kept in view when transferring and assigning jagirs was that the jagirdars should be competent to manage the area which was assigned to him. In 1577 A.D. as it become known that Wazir Khan did not observe the law of equity, and that the country of Gujarat was suffering in consequence, he was transferred from there and Shihabu-

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91. Bayazid Bayat, Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar, pp.251-52.

92. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:790.

d-din Ahmad Khan was appointed in his place, who was distinguished for his knowledge of affairs, industry, justice, and tenderness to the subjects.[93]

In theory both the peasants and the zamindars could complain directly to the court or the provincial governor or the Diwan against any act of oppression committed by a jagirdar. But it was apparently considered a normal practice for the agents of the assignees to physically prevent the peasants from proceeding to the court with any complaint. During the period of Akbar jagirs were transferred if a specific request was made. Munim Khan who held a jagir in Bihar after the conquest of Bengal asked for a jagir there, which was granted.[94] Khan Azim disliked the cold climate of Kabul and was therefore transferred to Bihar.[95]

It must, nevertheless, be mentioned that the system of regular transfers was quite inconvenient to the jagirdars and also to the people. Quite possible it was a source of constant tyranny. If the jagirdar was transferred in mid-year, he had to face many difficulties, for if he held an assignment during the Kharif harvest in one place and during the rabi in another and neither happened to be the important crops in the respective

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93. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:306.

94. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:144.

95. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:790.

localities he might be a heavy loser during that year. Moreover, transfers occurred not only with effect from the beginning of the harvest, but from that of any month. In case the transfer was ordered in the course of harvest seasons, the old and the new assignee had to share the collection of the whole season according to the number of months the assignment had been in the hand of either. A sudden transfer could also place a jagirdar in some difficulties, if he had not yet been able to collect the full revenue owed to him. At the same time an assignee might be required to collect the previous arrears of revenue and hand them over to the central treasure.[96] These difficulties prompted the jagirdars to collect as much as they possibly could during the duration of their stay, because they were never sure when their transfer would be ordered. Bernier has given a graphic description of the attitude of the Mughal jagirdar thus, 'why should the neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our minds, and why should we expand our money and time to render it fruitful ? We may be deprived of it in a single moment, and our exertions would benefit neither ourselves not our children. Lets us draw, from the soil all the money we can, though the peasant should starve or abscond,

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96. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.267-68.

and we should leave it, when commanded to quit, a dreary wilderness.'[97]

2.6 THE JAGIR FARMAN

The procedure on drafting the farmans was very elaborate. Having regard to the condition of the age in which the Mughals ruled, every necessary precaution was taken to safeguard against frauds in this connexion. A separate staff was appointed for recording the kings orders, movements and sayings in the darbar, and on all other public occasions. They recorded in the diary whatever the king said or did and whatever officers of the state brought to his notice.[98]

The diary thus prepared was supervised by one of the high amirs present that day in the darbar and laid before the king for approval. After the approval of the king it was handed over to the clerk, who made out a separate copy of each order and report and signed it. It was also signed by the parvancis, the mir-arz and by the amir who had laid it before the king. Thus the accuracy of the copy was secured. This paper then become the

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97. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, 2nd ed., Translated by Archibald constable, Revised by Vincent A.Smith (London:Oxford University Press, 1934; reprint ed., (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint , 1983), p.227.

98. Abul [illegible]zl, Ain- i-Akbari, 1:268.

voucher for the chief clerk of the Diwan-i-Tan or (person of officers concerned). The report thus prepared was called Yad-dasht or memorandum.[99] This completed the first stage of recording the orders and reports, and it was considered enough for matters of daily routine and unimportant cases.

But important matters such as appointment, conferring of jagir had to pass through several stages, according to their nature and importance. Besides the clerk mentioned above, there was a big staff of copyist, who wrote in a neat hand and prepared a good summary in a lucid style. They received the Yad-dasht when completed, kept it with them and prepared a proper abridgement of it. The abridgement prepared by them signed by the Vaqia-navis, the risalahdar, the mir arz and the darogha. This was given from this office instead of the Yad-dasht, which was deposited here. The abridgement thus completed was called taliqah. "When the taliqah about the jagir had been made out, the Diwan-i-jagir (who kept the jagir accounts) pays the stipulated grants. If the jagir is given for military services, with the order of bringing horses to the muster, the grant is once more sent to the Bakhshi for inspection, when the following words are written either on the back of the corner of the paper Khasa, o mardum baraward numayand; Kargaran -i in Shyghl

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99. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:269.

Chihra-nawisi Kunand (this is special; the estimate for the salary may be made out. The proper officers are to prepare the descriptive rolls). When the horses have been branded at the time of the muster, the Bakhshi generally takes the Taliqah, keeps it, and hands instead of it a writing specifying the amount of the monthly salary, duly signed and sealed.

This paper, which the Bakhshi grants instead of the taliqah, is called sarkhat.

The Sarkhats are entered in the daftars of all sub-Bakhshis, and are distinguished by particular marks. The Diwan then keeps the sarkhat with himself, prepares an account of the annual and monthly salary due on it, and reports the matter to the emperor. If His Majesty gives the order to confer a jagir on the person specified in the sarkhat, the following words are entered on the top of the report. Taliqa-yi-tan qalami numayand (They are to write out a (Taliqa-yi-Tan) Certificate of salary). This order suffices for the clerks; they keep the order, and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwan, who verifies it by writing on it the words sabt numayand (ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Diwan, the Bakshi and the accountant of the Diwan, are put on the draft in order, when the imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature of the Diwan.

The Sahib-i-Tawjih, or military accountant, keeps

the former Taliqah with himself, writes its details on the farman, and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the Mustawfi, and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the Nazir and the Bakhshis do so likewise, when it is sealed by the Diwan, his Accountant, and the Vakil of the State".[100]

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100. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:269.

CHAPTER-3

JAGIRDARS AND THEIR JAGIRS

It is by now quite evident that the Mughal nobility depended practically for all its income on the pay it received from the state, irrespective of whether it was in the form of cash or jagirs. It was for the Emperor to decide whether any mansabdar would receive his pay in cash or in the form of a jagir.

3.1 IMPORTANCE OF JAGIRS

During Akbar's reign nobles mostly preferred to receive their salaries as jagir. There is good reason to believe that the system of granting jagirs was highly popular, amongst the nobles and that the struggle for jagirs was intensely keen. As Abdul-Jalil of Bilgram writes to his son, "Service has its foundation on a jagir; an employee without a jagir, might just as well be out of employ".[1] Even ensigns of royalty did not mean much to the nobles who considered the award of a jagir to be the best form of recognition. Shah Beg Khan on his appointment as the governor of Qandahar received the alam and naqara from

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1. As quoted in William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, reprinted, (New Delhi: Eurasia, 1962), p.15.

Akbar. On receiving these ensigns he remarked 'what is all this trash for? 'Would that His Majesty gave me an order regarding my _mansab_ and a _jagir_ to enable me to get better troopers for his service'.[2] On the other hand, a chance of dealing with land and handling the income from it, has had enormous attractions in all parts of the world, and in none more than in India. Nobles and officers by obtaining an assignment of revenue hoped to make certain of some income, instead of depending helplessly for payment of the good pleasure of court. Then in negotiating for a _jagir_ there were all sorts of possibilities. In 1560 A.D. Bairam Khan allotted highly paying _jagirs_ to his kith and kin and as a result earned the displeasure of the emperor for by-passing the other .f# d 3deserving nobles.[3] 'Bairam gave Husain Quli, who has not even fought with a chicken, equal position with Iskandar Khan, Abdulla Khan, and Bahadur Khan, and gave him cultivated fiefs, while he satisfied the great _Khans_ with waste lands.'[4] A judicious bribe could often obtain for a noble a larger _jagir_ than was his due, and if he were shrewd, he could even make it yield somewhat more than its nominal return.

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2. Abul Fazl, _Ain-i-Akbari_, 1:410.

3. Abul Fazl, _Akbarnama_, 2:163.

4. Abul Fazl, _Akbarnama_, 2:163.

3.2. JAGIRDARS AND MUQARRARA TALAB

According to the integrated administrative system established by Akbar the pay that each noble received was determined by the mansab or rank he held. A mansabdars of 5000 zat of the first[5] category was paid Rs.30,000 per month, one of the second category got 29,000 and of the third category of 28,000. Nobles of 4000 zat of the first category were paid Rs.22,000 and so on.[6]

Whenever a person was assigned a jagir, the pargana or village assigned to him was such that the jama mentioned in the imperial register was exactly equal to his pay.[7] This is shown by some of the actual assignment orders which have survived. These orders first state the rank of the assignee, then follows the statement of pay which he should get against his rank according to the sanctioned schedules. This is termed muqarrara talab or sanctioned claim. To meet this claim, parganas with their jama figure are then specified, the total of the jama figure being equal to the amount of the pay claim. In

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5. Ain-i-Akbari 1:248, Akbarnama,3:1031, 'An Officer whose contingent cames up to his mansab, is put into the first class of his rank, if his contingent is one half and upward to the fixed number, he is put into the second class; the third class contains, those contingents which are still less'

6. See for salary list of nobles in Appendix-A

7. A.Jain Qaiser, 'Distribution of the revenue resources, of the Mughal empire among the nobility, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 27(1965):237.

case the sanctioned amount of the pay claim could only be met by assigning not the total jama of a pargana but a fraction of it, this fraction was stated.[8] In that case, the central Diwan had to order a division (qismat) of the villages of the pargana among the assignees, who had obtained claims on its jama. However, the assignment of a whole pargana (darobast) in one jagir was always preferred by the administration to dividing it among two or more jagirdars.[9] Since the jagir that was assigned to a noble was expected to yield revenue equivalent to his salary, an adjustment was sometimes made, if the collection from the jagir happened to be far below expectations. The jagirdars was compensated either by a cash payment from the treasury or the assignment of an additional jagir of an equivalent amount. At the sometime if the actual collection by the jagirdar exceeded the jama of the sanctioned amount, the difference could be recovered from him. A periodical correction of the revenue papers concerning the assignment was also made and the paper value of the jagir was often compared with the actual

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8. Shireen Moosvi, 'The Magnitude of the Land revenue demand and the income of the Mughal ruling class under Akbar,' Medieval India:A Miscellany, 2(1972):96-97; Moreland, 'Description of assignment order,' Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, (1936):641-42.

9. Ather Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1966), p.76.

collection.[10]

3.3 JAGIRDARS AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The emperor and central Diwan had to keep many other things in mind besides the mansab and the jama for allotment of jagir. Generally, the allocation of jagirs was the work of the revenue ministry. A few assignment which carried with them a special administrative charge or jurisdiction, were allocated by the emperor's personal order.[11] Thus a district surrounding a fort like, Ranthambhor or Kalinjar usually went with the command of the fortress, and so was the case with some historic areas, such as Kanauj, or Jaunpur. Many rich and fertile jagirs in Lahore, Multan, Sambhal and Hisar Firuza were treated in the same way. Moreover these places were generally assigned to the important nobles. In addition to it when a jagir was assigned to a noble it had to be seen whether he would be able to manage the assigned area effectively, bring more land under cultivation, expand the boundaries of the empire, subdue the rebellious nobles and zamindars and save the empire from external invasion. If a noble was unable to manage his jagir properly he was

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10. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1966), p.76.

11. W.H.Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, A Historical Eassy with Appendix (Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporration, 1968), p.94.

liable to be transferred sooner or later. During Akbar's reign external invasion from the North-western provinces always haunted the mind of the emperor. That is why certain Subas like Kabul, Lahore and Multan were always assigned to nobles of a high rank. They were better equipped to check external invasions and control internal disorder. The Suba of Kabul was assigned to nobles like Munim Khan, Bairam Khan, Sharif Khan, Man Singh, Quli Khan and Zain Khan Koka. The Sarkars of Suba Kabul which were more frequently assigned as jagirs to nobles were those of Kabul and Kashmir. Other sarkars like Qandahar, Swad and Pakli which were during the later years of Akbar's reign included in the Mughal empire were held by nobles like Bairam Khan, Ismail Quli Khan[12] and Husain Beg S.Umari.[13] In Suba Lahore the situation seems to have been slightly different. The Suba was a fertile area. It appears that all the sarkars of this suba were somewhat equally assigned to nobles as jagir. Some parganas such as those of Sialkot (Rechano Doab), Bhera (Chinhat Doab), Birka and Jallandhar (Bet Jallandhar Doab) seem important places and were frequently assigned to noble. In Suba Multan, Sarkars like Multan, Dipalpur and Bhakkar carried political importance for the Mughal empire. They were therefore frequently assigned to influential nobles. In

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12. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:376.

13. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:855.

the earlier year of Akbar reign sarkar of Multan was held by Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas and Bahadur Khan Uzbek. In 1560 A.D. it was held by Muhammad Qasim Nishapuri and in 1563 A.D. again Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas was jagirdars of Multan. 1571 A.D. it was held by Muhibb Ali and laterly by Said Khan Chaghta. 1585 A.D. Sarkar Multan was held by Muhammad Sadiq Khan and in 1591 A.D. it was held by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. In last year of Akbar reign Multan was under Mirza Sharukh in 1595 A.D. and Mirza Rustam after it. It is interesting to note that they all held a rank more than 4000 mansab.[14] The sarkar of Dipalpur and Bhakkar were also held by noble like Bahadur Khan Uzbek, Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka, Mir Sayyid Muhammad, Sharif Khan, Abdur Rahim and Abdul Qasim Namkin. They all were a noble of high order. The Thatha which was subdivided into five parts (Thatha, Hajkan, Sewistan, Nasirpur and Chakarhalah) we have very few references to their being assigned as jagir. In 1585 A.D. Sindh was under the control of Mirza Jani Beg. When Akbar came to Panjab,Mirza Jani Beg had failed to come to court in order to pay his respect. In 1591 A.D., therefore Khan Khanan was ordered to proceed with a military force against Sindh. Mirza Jani Beg was defeated, though he was inducted into imperial service by the grant of a mansab

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14. Muhibb Ali Khan was mention a noble of 1000 zat in Ain. But Tabaqat included it among the noble of 4000 zat.

of 3000 zat. He received the suba of Multan as Tiyul. Sindh was however, assigned to Mirza Sharukh.[15] But before this arrangement could be carried out, a report reached Akbar that member of the Arghun Clan, about 10,000 men, women and children, were moving up the river, to follow the Mirza Jani Beg to his new Tiyul and that great distress had thereby been caused both among the emigrants and those who were left behind. Akbar felt that under such circumstances the policy needed to be altered. Mirza Jani Beg was, therefore, appointed to Sindh. Lahari Bandar, however, become khalisa and the sarkar of Sewistan which had formerly paid peshkash, was parcelled out amongst several grandees.[16]

The largest number of references regarding the grant of jagirs are from the areas which were under effective Mughal supervision and administrative control. These were the suba of Gujarat, Malwa, Awadh and Allahabad. In suba Malwa, which had a total of twelve sarkars. The most frequent references of jagir in our sources are to sarkar of Mandu, Ujjain and Sarangpur. The other sarkars in order of the frequency which they were assigned are Handia, Garha and Chanderi. The important sarkars among them was Sarangpur to which large number of

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15. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:391.

16. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:391.

jagir references were collected. In 1561 A.D. it was held by Adham Khan. In 1564 A.D. it was given as *jagir* to Muhammad Qasim Nishpuri and 1568 A.D. it was assigned to Shah Budagh Khan. In 1573 A.D. it was held by Muzaffar Khan and in 1577 A.D. *sarkar* Sarangpur was under Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan , Bayazid Bayat and Shujaat Khan. In 1579-80 A.D. it was again held by Shujaat Khan and Shaham Khan. The nobles who led military expedition to the Deccan were assigned *jagirs* in *suba* Malwa, which lay on the route to the Deccan. this was because the entire Deccan was not completely brought under Mughal control during Akbar's reign. In the year 1585 A.D. the Khan Azim was sent on an expedition to the south and at the same time Garha and Raisin[17] were assigned to him as fiefs. In 1599 A.D. Mirza Sharukh was assigned the territory of Raisin as *jagir* and sent off in the expedition to the Deccan.[18]

The *Suba* of Allahabad had ten *sarkars*, of these the *sarkars* of Jaunpur, Kara-Manikpur, Banaras, Ghazipur and Kalinjar were repeatedly assigned to nobles as *jagirs*. Among these the *sarkar* of Jaunpur and Kara-Manikpur was most frequently assigned to nobles as *jagir*. In 1559-60 A.D. Jaunpur was assigned as *jagir* to Ali Quli Khan and in 1561 A.D. it was held by Ibrahim Khan Uzbek. In 1566-67

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17. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:701.

18. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:701.

A.D. it was held by Munim Khan upto 1574 A.D. In 1574 A.D. it was given as _jagir_ to Mirza Mirak Rizvi and in 1579 A.D. it was held by Masum Khan Farankhudi. 1580 A.D. _sarkar_ Jaunpur was assigned to Tarsan Khan and 1591 it was assigned to Abdur Rahim. In 1592 A.D. it was held by Mirza Yusuf Khan and in 1594 A.D. by Qulij Khan and Yusuf Khan. The _Sarkar_ of Kara-Munikpur in 1558 A.D. was held as _jagir_ by Kamal Khan Gakkhar. In 1560 A.D. it was assigned to Ali Quli _Khan-i-Zaman_ and in 1563-65 A.D. it was given as _jagir_ to Khawja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan. In 1567 A.D. it was held by Majunun Khan Qaqshal , Muhibb Ali Khan and Farhat Khan. In 1572 A.D. it was held by Munim Khan and Qulij Khan. In 1574 A.D. it was allotted as _jagir_ to Baba Khan Qaqshal and in 1580 A.D. it was under Asad Khan Turkman, Ismail Quli Khan and Itiyas. The other _sarkars_ in order of the frequency with which _jagirs_ were assigned were, Banaras, Ghazipur and Kalinjar. In _Suba_ Awadh out of a total five _sarkars_ Lucknow, and Bahraich seem more important from our point of view than the other _sarkars_. Lucknow and Bahraich were frequently assigned as _jagir_ to nobles. In 1558 A.D. Sultan Husain Khana were _jagirdars_ of _sarkar_ Lucknow. In 1559 A.D. it was held by Ali Quli Khan and Jalairs. Again in 1568 A.D. it was held by Husain Khan and Mahdi Qasim Khan. In 1572 A.D. _sarkar_ Lucknow was held as _jagir_ by Sikandar Khan Uzbek and in 1575 A.D. it was assigned to Khwaja Amina Khwaja Jahan. At last in 1585 A.D. it was held by Mir Abul Ghuyas. The

sarkar Bahraich was held by noble like Qiya Khan in 1560 A.D., Wazir Khan and Minhar Khan in 1581 A.D. and 1604 A.D. it was held by Mir Sharif Amuli. In the Suba Gujarat which comprised nine sarkars, those of Ahmadabad, Patan and Surat were frequently assigned to nobles. In 1572-73 A.D. Ahmadabad was held by Mirza Aziz Koka as Jagir.[19] In 1573 A.D. it was held by Wazir Khan and in 1577 A.D. it was held by Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan. In 1585 A.D. it was under Qulij Khan.[20] The sarkar Patan in 1572 A.D. was jagir of Mirza Abdul Rahim and Sayyid Ahmad Khan Barah. In 1573 Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan, Sayyid Ahmad Khan Barah and Sher Ali langa were jagirdars of sarkar Patan. Tarsan Muhammad Khan, Itimad Khan Gujarati, Sher Khan Fuladi, Shaikh Abdur Rahman and Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari also held it as jagir in different time. The other sarkars in order the frequency with which jagirs, were assigned were Surat, Baroach and Baroda.

In Suba Ajmer a different set of conditions seems to have prevailed. In this suba there were many powerful Rajput chieftains toward whom Akbar followed a conciliatory policy. Many of these chiefs were included in the mansabdari system and given their own area in the

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19. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:13

20. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:681.

form of Watan jagirs.[21] In addition to their watan they were granted handsome jagirs in different parts of the Mughal empire. Mota Raja Udai Singh had Jodhpur as hereditary dominion, in addition to Jodhpur he was also given Siwana and Sojat in Jagir by the emperor. A.R.Khan, 'came across 61 persons belonging to various ruling houses holding mansab of 200 and above under Akbar at one time or the other. It is significant that 40 out of 61 mansabdars belong to the ruling families of suba Ajmer alone, while the remaining came from the rest of Mughal empire'.[22] Out of fifty references, we have to the jagirs assigned in suba Ajmer, Seventeen are those granted to Hindu and Rajput nobles. The suba Ajmer contained seven sarkars. The sarkars of this suba which seem to have been directly under Mughal control were Ajmer, Nagor, Ranthambhor and Chittor. In fact the largest number of references to the assignment of jagirs are from these sarkars. For a study of the political status of the principalities of suba Ajmer given in the Ain is extremely valuable[23] and illuminating. Only two sarkars out of its seven sarkars viz, Ajmer and nagor, being directly administered. Now it will be remembered that in the case of the imperial

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21. A.R.Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar, (Shimla:Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1971), pp.114,208.

22. A.R.Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal empire During the reign of Akbar, p.207.

23. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 2:273-282.

territories proper, the Ain gives the area, Suyurghal and revenue figures, but in the case of territories outside the jurisdiction of the imperial government these statistics are generally very incomplete. Taking the sarkars of Ajmer, Nagor ,Ranthambhor and Chittor only a few mahals have Suyurghals, several mahals of these sarkars are not measured, and their revenues is stated in round sums.[24] This fact shows that even in these sarkars (although we have some jagir references) most of the mahals were still held by petty tributary chiefs, and only a small part of them was administered by the provincial government. In the remaining three sarkars viz, Jodhpur, Sirohi and Bikaner, these are, of course, no area figures, and for the last one only the totals of revenue and army are given and no other detail at all. In these sarkars the imperial government hold was nominal and most of area was under chieftains.

The Suba of Agra and Delhi which were in the closest proximity of the imperial court were largely under the direct control of central authority. The area of these suba was rarely assigned as jagir to nobles. Even in that few instances when jagirs were assigned, it was to princes and very important nobles that it was given out. Some of the parganas in suba Ajmer which were in

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24. P.Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals 1526-1658, (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1973), pp.118-119.

some cases assigned to nobles as jagir were Bayana, Nimkhar and Shamsabad. Agra suba contain thirteen sarkars out of which we have maximum references in our sources to the sarkars of Kalpi, Etawa, Kanauj and Khairabad. The sarkar of Kalpi and Etawa was most frequently assigned to nobles as jagirs. In 1556 A.D. sarkar of Kalpi was held as jagir by Abdulla Khan Uzbek till 1561 A.D. Again in 1572 A.D. it was held by Shaham Khan and in 1579 A.D. held by Qasim Ali Khan. 1583 A.D. Sarkar Kalpi was assigned as jagir to Muttalib Khan and in 1590 A.D. it was given as jagir to Qasim Ali khan and Shahbaz Khan Kambu. In 1594 A.D. Usmail Quli Khan was jagirdar of kalpi. The sarkar Etawa was held by nobles like Qiya Khan Gung, Adham Khan, Munim Khan and Zain Khan Koka in different time. Other sarkars in order of frequency of jagir assignment were Narnaul, Kanauj and Khairabad.

In Suba Delhi which consisted of eight sarkars, the sarkars of Sambhal, Hisar Firuza, Saharanpur, Sirhind and Badaon seem to have been the sarkars from which jagir assignments were made to nobles. The sarkars of Sambhal, Hisar Firuza and Sirhind were most frequently assigned to nobles. In 1556 A.D. to 1566 A.D. the Ali Quli Khan Uzbek was jagirdars of sarkar Sambhal. In 1566 A.D. it was given to Ibrahim Husain Mirza and 1567 A.D. to Muhammad Sultan Mirza. 1568 A.D. Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan were holding this sarkar as jagir. In 1573 A.D. it was held by Muinuddin Khan FaranKhudi and in 1583 A.D. it was held by

Said Khan and 1589 A.D. by Qulij Khan. In 1595 A.D. Sarkar Sambhal was held by Muzaffar Husain Mirza. The other sarkars Hisar Firoza and Sirhind is also held as a jagir in different time by nobles like Beg Mirak, Sher Muhammad Diwana, Khwaja Muzaffar Ali, Munim Khan, Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Malik Ashraf, Abu Said and Raja Rai Singh.

This bring us to the more distant subas of Bengal and Bihar. Because of their distance from the imperial court territories in those subas were always assigned to powerful nobles. The significance of these far office jagirs being assigned to powerful nobles was perhaps, because they were capable of suppressing the internal revolts which frequently occurred in these subas. The suba of Bengal consisted of twenty-four sarkars of which the sarkars of Ghorahghat, Jalesar, Khalifabad, Tanda and Orissa are most often referred as jagir. These sarkars were held as jagir by noble like Munim Khan, Najnun Khan Qaqshal, Khaldi Khan, Sher Khan, Shahbaz Khan, Khan Azim and Wazir Khan etc. for the rest of the sarkars we have very few references of jagirs being granted. In suba Bihar which had seven sarkars, those of Rohtas, Hajipur, Chunar and Tirhut were generally assigned to nobles as jagirs. In 1568 A.D. the sarkar of Rohtas was held by Muhibb Ali Khan and 1574 A.D. it was held by Farhat Khan. In 1575 A.D. it was given as jagir to Muzaffar Khan and 1577 A.D. to Shahbaz Khan. Again in 1577 A.D. it was assigned to Muhammad Masum Kabuli and in 1580 A.D. it was

held by Said Beg Bakshi, Saadat Ali, Mir Muizulmulk and Kamaluddin Husain Sistani. In 1589 A.D. Bhagwan Das was jagirdar of Rohtas and in 1589 A.D. it was assigned to Muhibb Ali Khan. The Sarkar of Hajipur was held by Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas in 1574 A.D. and Muzaffar Khan in 1575 A.D. 1580 A.D. it was held Shaham Khan and Aziz Koka. Again in the year of 1583 A.D. it was given as jagir to Said Khan and 1587 A.D. to Man Singh. In 1595 A.D. again Khan Azim was jagirdar of this sarkar. The other sarkars in order of the frequency of jagir assignments were Chunar, Tirhut and Saran.

The system of assignment of jagirs enabled the states to reduce some of the difficulties associated with revenue collection. By this system the difficult task of collecting and bringing in the revenue from distant places was circumvented. The task was left to the jagirdars who appropriated it as salary. In case mansabdars holding of lower mansab rank and not high in imperial favour, his jagirs was allotted in less important area which carried no administrative and political importance to the Mughal empire.

3.4 INFLUENTIAL OFFICERS

In so far as the important nobles were concerned the jagirs they received carried special administrative

jurisdiction and were far more valuable.[25] Great caution was exercised at the time of their assignment. Under Akbar many of nobles were given jagirs that were rich and fertile. Ordinarily these nobles and their jagirs were transferred from one place to another after every three of four years. Munim Khan who was the ataliq of prince Akbar and was also given the title of Khan Khanan and appointed Vakil was assigned jagirs which were more established, fertile and administratively important. From the beginning of Akbar's reign to 1560 A.D., he held Kabul-wa-Gaznin[26] as his jagir. In 1560 A.D. he held a jagir in Hisar Firuza.[27] Again in 1563 A.D. he demanded a jagir in Panjab, and his compact jagir of Hisar Firuza was reduced by half and for this he was compensated by being assigned jagirs in sarkar Etawha and Khairabad and in the pargana of Shahpur (in Sarkar Bari Doab), Jallandhar (in sarkar Bet Jallandhar Doab) and Indri (in sarkar Saharanpur).[28] After the defeat of Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan in 1567 A.D, their jagirs in Jaunpur, Banaras and Ghazipur upto the bank of the Chausa[29] river were assigned to Munim Khan.

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25. W.H.Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.94

26. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:25; Muntaakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:34.

27. Bayazid Bayat, Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar, p.239.

28. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:293-94, Bayazid, pp.239-240.

29. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:436; Badaoni,2:104.

In 1574 A.D. Munim Khan's jagir was included in the imperial exchequer (Khalisa-i-Sharifa) lands and he was given Patna as jagir and ordered to assist the royal army against Daud.[30] Son of Sulaiman Kararani the chief of Bengal. After death of Sulaiman Kararani Daud become an element of disturbance in Bengal country. In 1575 A.D. Munim Khan had a jagir in Bengal. When Akbar went to the eastern provinces, Munim Khan's estates were also allotted in Bihar. When the rebels of Bengal were finally defeated and province came under greater imperial revenue supervision Munim Khan sent Khawajah Shah Mansur of Shiraz to court and asked for a jagir in Bengal. The emperor consented to such a grant.[31] The same was in the case of other important nobles who were also given valuable jagirs at different points of time. Noteworthy among them were Ali Quli Khan, Sikandar Khan Uzbek, Khan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka, Man Singh, Abdullah Khan Uzbek, Qiya Khan Gung, Haider Muhammad Khan, Majnun Khan Qaqshal, Mahdi Qasim Khan, Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas, Bahadur Khan Uzbek, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Husain Quli Khan, Muhibb Ali Khan, Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, Ismail Quli Khan, Qulij Khan, Muhammad and Sadiq Khan. References to the granting of jagirs frequently appear in our sources and from these it is clear that the powerful

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30. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:97.

31. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:164.

nobles always held important jagirs in different part of the empire like Kalpi, Multan, Sambhal, Lucknow, Sialkot, Bayana, Lahore, Manikpur, Etawa, Ghoraghat and Nagor.

Ali Quli Khan distinguished himself in Kabul and in the conquest of Hindustan under Humayun. At the time of Akbar's accession he also played important role and was a mansabdar of 5000 zat rank. Ali Quli Khan and his brother Bahadur Khan held jagirs in Sambhal, Multan, Dipalpur, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Banaras, and Ghazipur. Sikandar Khan Uzbek also held important jagirs such as Agra, Sialkot, Awadh and Lucknow. Khan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka and Man Singh who had reached the high rank of 7000 zat/6000 sawar held jagirs of great value. They were often, as we have seen, given jagirs according to their own choice. When in 1568 A.D. the Atka clan was removed from Panjab, Khan Azim retained Dipalpur.[32] He was given the title of Khan Azim and Akbar used to say, 'Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross'. In 1572 A.D. after the conquest of Gujarat he was given Ahmadabad as his jagir.[33] In 1580 A.D. he was sent to Bihar in order to subdue the rebellion there, and Hajipur was assigned to him. In the year 1596 A.D. he also held

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32. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:487,528-29; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 2:364.

33. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:13-15.

Multan[34] and again in 1605 A.D. the jagir of Bihar[35] was allotted to him. Man Singh who was given the title of Farzand (son) by Akbar and who also played an important role in many a battle was given rich and fertile jagirs in Lahore, Bihar, Bengal, Kabul and Multan.

After the murdered of Bairam Khan at Patan in Gujarat his son Abdul Rahim Khan was graciously taken by Akbar. He gave him title of Mirza Khan, and married him subsequently to MahBanu sister of Mirza Aziz Koka. In 1572 A.D. he held jagir in Patan. In 25th year, he was made Mir Arz and three year later ataliq of prince Salim. For his valuable service against Muzaffar Khan Gujarati he was made commander of 5000 zat, and gave him the coveted title of Khan-Khanan. In 1589 A.D. he was appointed vakil and received Jaunpur as tiyul, but in 1591 A.D. his jagir was transferred to Multan, and received order to take Thatha. In 1595 A.D. Bhilsa was given him as jagir and he was sent in expedition to Deccan with Sultan Murad.[36] Khan Jahan Husain Quli Khan was also a commander of 5000 zat rank in the 8th year he was made a khan and received parganas in Ajmer and Nagor as jagirs. In the 13th year he was transferred to Panjab, where he remained had jagir till 1573 A.D. He led a expedition against Sharafuddin

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34. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:376,574.

35. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1068

36. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:356.

Husain and Jai Chand of Nagarkot. He was given title of Khan Jahan which was next to that of Khan-i-Khanan. In 1575-76 A.D. he was sent against Isa Khan chief of Bhati in Bengal and his jagir was also assigned in Bengal and Ghazipur.

Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan also served under Kamran and Humayun and rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. He was from Atka Clan, who had their jagir in Panjab upto 1568 A.D. In 1568 A.D. when Atka clan was removed from Panjab he received Sambhal as jagir.[37] In 1572-73 A.D. he had jagir in suba Ajmer and Gujarat. He was given title of Khan-i-Kalan and reached a rank of 5000 zat. Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan was also a important noble of Akbar. He was a relation and friend of Maham Anga (Akbar's nurse). In the beginning of Akbar reign he was commandant of Delhi. In 1566 A.D. he held jagir in suba Malwa. In 21st year he was promoted to rank of 5000 zat. He also distinguished himself in the conquest of Bahroach in 1584 A.D. and received that district as jagir.[38] In addition to these places he also held Saraonj, Sarangpur, Ujjain and Raisin as jagirs. Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas also received important jagirs under Akbar. He was also a commander of five thousand. He also served under Humayun and held Multan as jagir. In beginning of Akbar reign his

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37. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:339.

38. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:352-53.

tiyul was transferred to Nagor. For a short time he was also governor of Malwa. In 1567 A.D. Awadh was also given him as _jagir_. He also held a Multan again as _jagir_ for long time.

3.5 TABLES AND MAPS

The following tables seeks to assemble information pertaining to the _suba_-wise _jagir_ assignments of individual nobles at different times during the reign of Akbar. When the place assigned is identified with the _pargana_ headquarters or a small (_qasba_) located within a _sarkar_, its name is entered under the column of the _pargana_. The name of the _sarkar_ within which the _pargana_ being referred was entered under the column _sarkar_ within parentheses. If the place is identified with the name of _sarkar_ headquarter's of the territory of a _sarkar_, it is placed under column _sarkar_. In the same way where the places assigned is identified by the sources with a territory which comprises a _suba_, it is placed under the column suba.

Date is established with the help of specific date furnished by the chronicles or is a suggested by the sequence of reporting in Abul Fazl's chapters arranged by regnal years.

All the _jagir_ table of twelve _suba_ is accompanying by a maps. In these maps the location of _jagirs_ (in which pargana, sarkar and suba belong) are plotted. These maps

have drawn from Irfan Habib Atlas 'Atlas of the Mughal empire.' The spellings of the names place given by Irfan Habib in his Atlas has checked from other works.

TABLE 3.5.1

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA ALLAHABAD

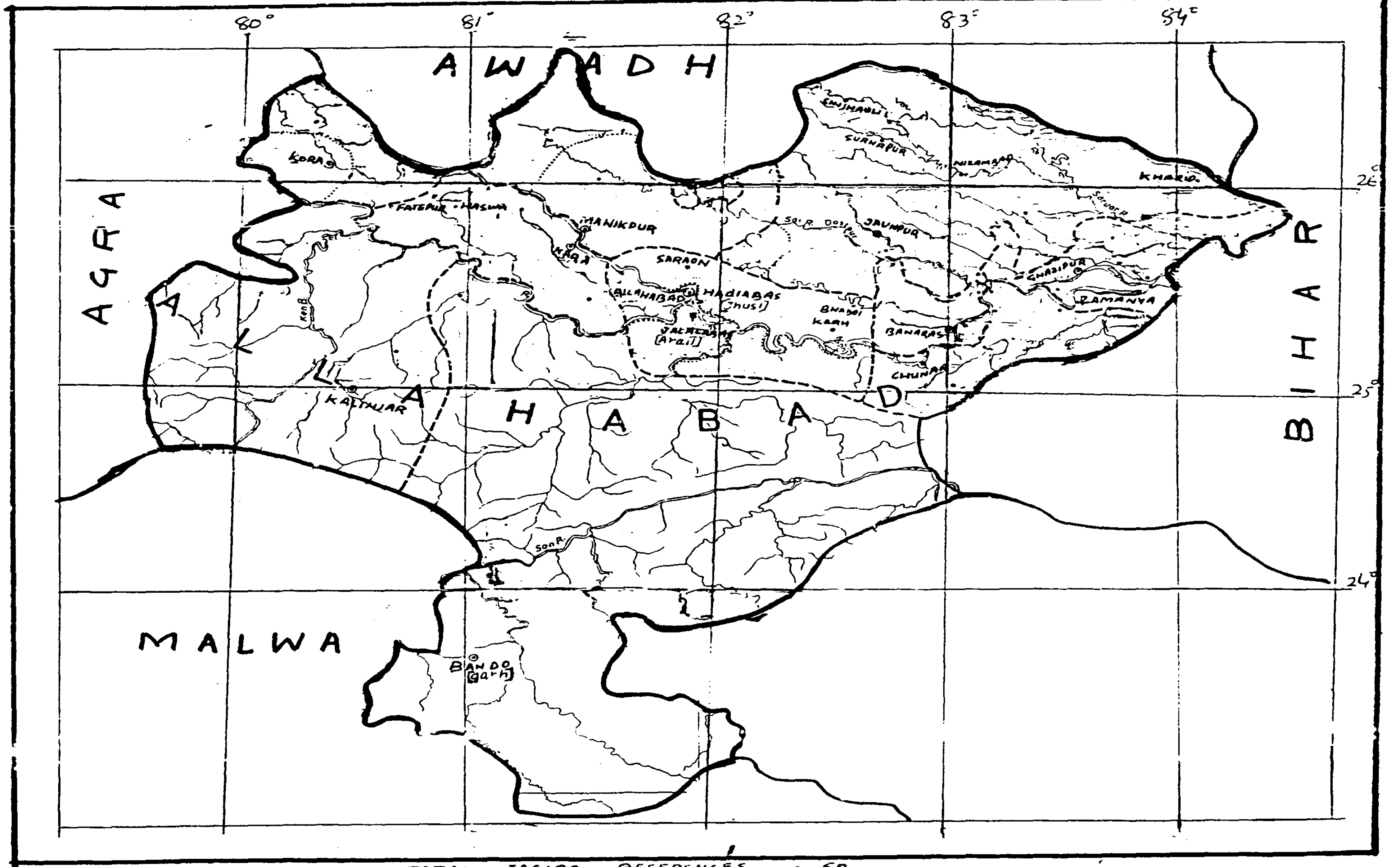
Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Yea of assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sikandar Sur	1557 A.D.	Kharid	(Jaunpur)	———	M.U.T. 2/16.
2	Jamal Khan	1558 A.D.	Five Parganas in exchange of chunar	———	———	Elliot.5/494, M.U.T. 2/26.
3	Abdul Rahman Beg	1558 A.D.	Surharpur	(Jaunpur)	———	A.N. 2/127.
4	Kamal Khan Gakkhar	1558 A.D.	Fatehpur, Haswa etc.	Kara	———	A.N.2/119, T.A. 2/267.
5	Ali Quli Khan	1559 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	A.N.2/126, T.A. 2/295.
6	Ali Quli Khan-I-Zaman	1560 A.D.	———	Jaunpur, Banaras, Ghazipur, Manikpur	———	Bayazid. 239.
7	Bahadur Khan Uzbek	1561 A.D.	———	Banaras	———	Bayazid. 244.
8	Ibrahim Khan Uzbek	1561 A.D.	Parganas	Jaunpur and the eastern sarkars	———	T.A. 2/256.
9	Majnun Khan Qaqshal	—do—	—do—	—do—	———	—do—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	Shaham Khan Jalair	—do—	—do—	—do—	———	—do—
11	Kamal Khan Gakkhar	—do—	—do—	—do—	———	—do—
12	Hasan Ali Khan Turkman	1561-3 A.D.	Qila-i-Chunar	(Chunar)	———	A.N. 2/232, M.U.T. 2/62.
13	Ali Quli Khan	1561 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	Arif.68, T.A.2/25
14	Bahadur Khan	1561 A.D.	———	Banaras	———	T.A. 2/257.
15	Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	1563 A.D.	———	Kara	———	A.N. 2/282.
16	Ali Quli Khan	1565 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	T.A.2/295, M.U.T. 2/76.
17	Ibrahim Khan Uzbek	1565 A.D.	Surharpur	(Jaunpur)	———	A.N.2/376, M.U.T. 2/76.
18	Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	1565 A.D.	———	Kara	———	Bayazid. 287
19	Munim Khan	1566-67 A.D.	———	Jaunpur, Banaras Ghazipur, Chunar	———	Bayazid.294-95, A.N.2/436, M.U.T. 2/104.
20	Bayazid Bayat	1566 A.D.	———	Banaras	———	Bayazid. 294-95.
21	Asadullah Khan Tabrizi	1566-67 A.D.	Zamaya	(Ghazipur)	———	Bayazid. 296.
22	Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	1567 A.D.	———	Kara	———	A.N.2/418-419.
23	Majnun Khan Qaqshal	1567 A.D.	———	Manikpur	———	A.N.2/419, T.A. 2/329.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	Hasan Khan	1567 A.D.	Qila-i-Chunar	(Chunar)	———	Arif.106.
25	Muhibb Ali Khan	1567 A.D.	———	Manikpur	———	A.N.2/428.
26	Majnun Khan Qaqshal	1567 A.D.	———	Manikpur	———	Arif. 200.
27	Farhat Khan	1567 A.D.	Qasba Kora	(Kora)	(Allahabad)	A.N.2/437.
28	Qasim Mushki	1567 A.D.	Zamanya	(Ghazipur)	———	A.N.2/478.
29	Majnun Khan Qaqshal	1569 A.D.	Pargana	(Kalingar)	———	T.A. 2/357.
30	Raja Ram Chand of Bhatta	1569 A.D.	Arail	(Allahabad)	———	M.U.T. 2/357.
31	Qulij Khan	1572 A.D.	Saraon	(Allahabad)	———	Bayazid. 307.
32	Munim Khan	1572 A.D.	Saraon	(Allahabad)	———	Bayazid. 307.
33	Talib Sultan	1573 A.D.	———	Ghazipur	———	Bayazid. 314.
34	Mirza Quli Sultan	1573 A.D.	Badohi	(Allahabad)	———	Bayazid. 314.
35	Nadim Sultan	1573 A.D.	Dostpur	(Jaunpur)	———	Bayazid. 314.
36	Qasim Mushki	1573 A.D.	Qila-i-Zamanya	(Ghazipur)	———	Bayazid. 318.
37	Muhammad Khan	1573 A.D.	Qila-i-Zamanya	(Ghazipur)	———	Bayazid. 318.
38	Saadat Yar	1573 A.D.	Sinjhauli	(Jaunpur)	———	Bayazid. 318.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	Baba Khan Qaqshal	1574 A.D.	Chekur	(Manikpur)	———	T.A.2/437.
40	Munim Khan	1574 A.D.	———	(Jaunpur)	———	A.N.3/144.
41	Hasan Ali Khan	1574 A.D.	Qila-i-Chunar	(Chunar)	———	Bayazid. 310.
42	Mirza Mirak Rizvi	1574 A.D.	———	(Jaunpur)	———	Arif. 194.
43	Ibrahim Sirkiwal	1574 A.D.	———	Banaras	———	A.N.3/144, M.U.T. 2/185.
44	Niyabat Khan	1574 A.D.	Jhusi Payang	(Allahabad)	———	T.A.2/542.
45	Munim Khan	1575 A.D.	Chunar	(Chunar)	———	Bayazid.312,341
46	Bayazid Bayat	1575 A.D.	Pargana	(Chunar)	———	Bayazid. 250,35
47	Rai Surjan	1575 A.D.	———	(Chunar)	———	A.N. 2/223.
48	Khan-i-Jahan	1576 A.D.	———	Ghazipur	———	A.N.3/241.
49	Masum Khan FaranKhudi	1579 A.D.	———	(Jaunpur)	———	M.U.T.2/284.
50	Masum Khan FaranKhudi	1580 A.D.	Khitta-i-Jaunpur	(Ghazipur)	———	A.N.3/410.
51	Tarsun Muhammad Khan	1580 A.D.	Khitta-i-Jaunpur	(Jaunpur)	———	A.N.3/422.
52	Masum Khan Faran Khudi	1580 A.D.	———	———	Allahabad	A.N.3/422.
53	Ghazi Khan Badakshi	1580 A.D.	———	———	Allahabad	A.N.3/422.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA ALLAHABAD]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES — 68

SARKAR JAUNPUR	— 17	SARKAR BANARAS	— 6
SARKAR GHAZIPUR	— 9	SARKAR KARA	— 5
SARKAR ALLAHABAD	— 8	SARKAR CHUNAR	— 6
SARKAR MANIKPUR	— 6	SARKAR KALINJAR	— 3
OTHERS ·		SARKAR KORA	— 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	Rai Surjan etc.	1580 A.D.	———	———	Allahabad	A.N.3/422.
55	Asad Khan Turkman	1580 A.D.	———	Manikpur	———	A.N. 3/455.
54	Usmail Quli Khan	1580 A.D.	———	Kara	———	A.N.3/480.
55	Iliyas	1580 A.D.	———	Kara	———	A.N.3/480.
56	Niyabat Khan	1580 A.D.	Jhusi Payang	(Allahabad)	———	A.N.3/481.
57	Tarsun Khan	1580 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	M.U.T. 2/297.
58	Birbar	1582 A.D.	———	Kora	———	M.U.T. 2/312.
59	Birbar	1588 A.D.	———	Kalinjar	(Allahabad)	A.N.2/806, M.U.T. 2/369.
60	Abdur Rahim Mirza Khan	1591 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	A.N.3/865, M.U.T. 2/386, T.A.2/629.
61	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1592 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	A.N.3/959-60.
62	Qulij Khan	1594 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	A.N.3/959-60, 1004.
63	Yusuf Khan	1594 A.D.	———	Jaunpur	———	A.N./1004.
64	Sultan Daniel	1597 A.D.	———	———	Allahabad	A.N.3/1077.
65	S.Bayazid	1604 A.D.	Fort Allahabad	(Allahabad)	———	A.N.3/1249.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66	Raja Jagman	1604 A.D.	———	Fort Allahabad	———	A.N.3/1249.
67	Raja Todar Mal	1604 A.D.	Fort Kalinjar	Kalinjar	———	A.N.3/1249.

Table 3.5.2

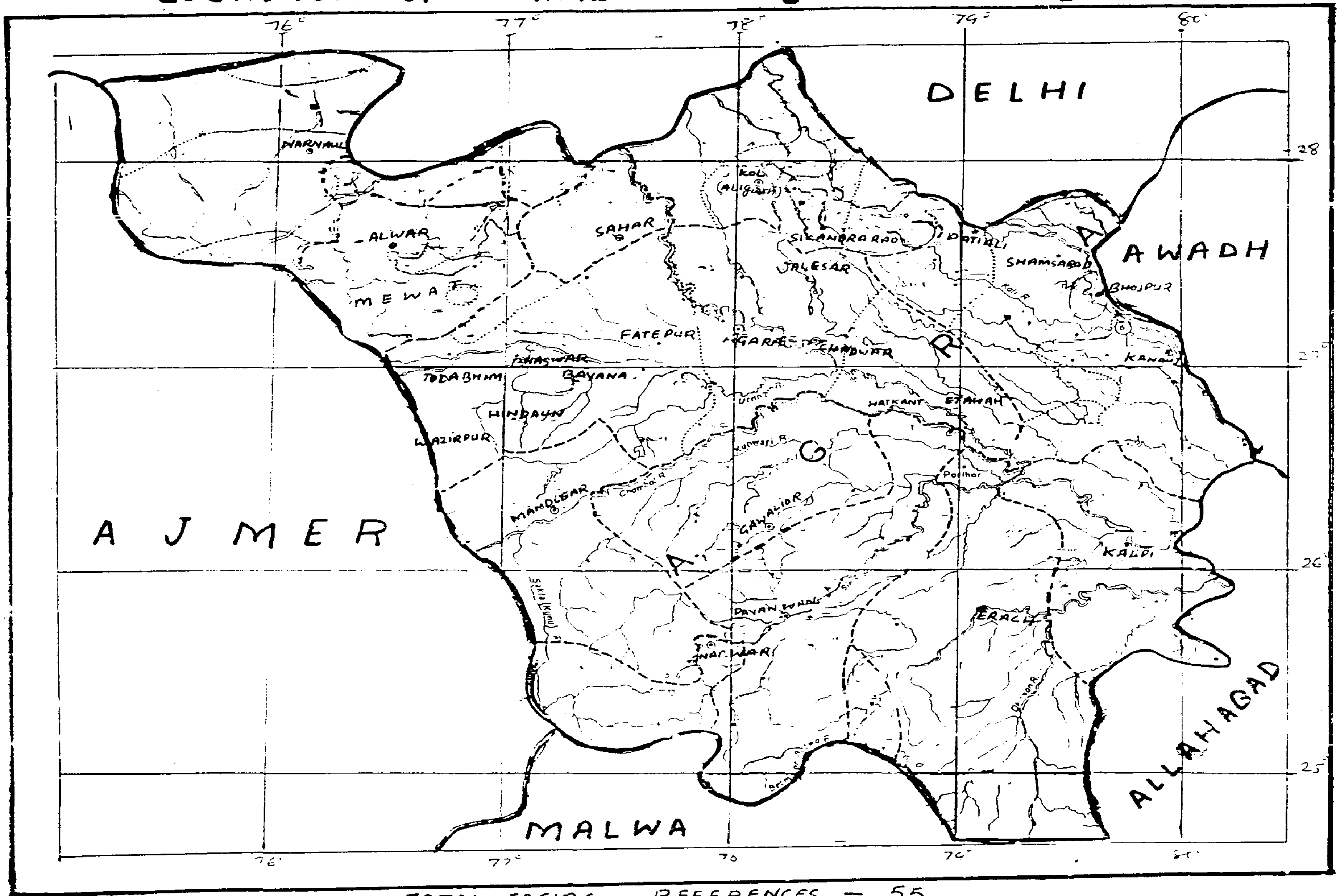
JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA AGRA

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sikandar Khan Uzbek	1556 A.D.	--------	Agra	--------	A.N. 2/25.
2	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	1556 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	A.N. 2/25.
3	Qaya Khan Gung	1556 A.D.	--------	Koi-wa-jalali	--------	A.N. 2/25.
4	Mulazam-i-Tardi Beg	1556 A.D.	Mewat	(Alwar)	--------	A.N. 2/25.
5	Haider Muhammad Khan	1556 A.D.	Bayana	(Agra)	--------	A.N. 2/25.
6	Majnun Khan Qaqshal	1556 A.D.	--------	Narnaul	--------	A.N. 2/36.
7	Qaya Khan Gung	1556 A.D.	Etawah	(Agra)	--------	M.U.T. 2/6.
8	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	1556 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	M.U.T. 2/6.
9	Haider Muhammad Khan	1556 A.D.	Bayana	(Agra)	--------	M.U.T. 2/6.
10	Abdulla Khan Uzbek Shujaat Khan	1556 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	A.N. 2/71
11	Qaya Khan	1556 A.D.	dar-ul-mulk Agra-wa an hudud	(Agra)	--------	A.N. 2/71

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	Shaikh Jamal Bakhtiyar	1557 A.D.	Chandwar Jalesar	-------	--------	M.D.(H),3/257
13	Adham Khan	1556 A.D.	Katkant	(Agra)	--------	A.N. 2/199.
14	Habib Ali Khan	1558 A.D.	Bayana	(Agra)	--------	M.U.T. 2/25.
15	Chagtai Khan	1558 A.D.	Bhasawar Toda Bhim	(Agra)	--------	M.U.T. 2/25.
16	Muhammad Baqi Baqlani	1560 A.D.	Sikandra Rao	(Koi)	--------	A.N. 2/141.
17	Bairam Khan	1560 A.D.	--------	Alwar	--------	A.N. 2/148.
18	Husain Khan	1560 A.D.	Patiali	(Kanauj)	--------	M.U.T. 2/38.
19	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	1560 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	M.U.T. 3/6.
20	Bahadur Khan Uzbek	1561 A.D.	Etawa	(Agra)	--------	Bayazid. 244.
21	Abdullah Khan	1561 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	A.N. 2/214, M.U.T. 2/44.
22	Ibrahim Badakshi	1562 A.D.	Sakit	(Kanauj)	--------	A.N. 2/252.
23	Mirza Sarfudin Husain	1562 A.D.	Mewat	(Alwar)	--------	A.N. 2/240.
24	Munim Khan	1563 A.D.	Pargana Etawah	(Agra)	--------	A.N. 2/294.
25	Gesu Khan	1563 A.D.	--------	Narnaul	--------	T.A. 2/274, M.U.T. 2/58.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	Khanzada	1563 A.D.	Pargana	(Narnaul)	--------	T.A. 2/274.
27	Shujaat Khan	1563 A.D.	--------	Narnaul	--------	A.N. 2/309.
28	Husain Khan	1567 A.D.	Patyali Shamsabad	(Kanauj)	--------	M.U.T. 2/88.
29	Juniad Kararani	1567 A.D.	Hindaun	(Agra)	--------	A.N. 2/420.
30	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1567 A.D.	--------	(Kanauj)	--------	A.N. 2/425-26 M.U.T. 2/96.
31	Sahabuddin Khan Turkman	1567 A.D.	Bhojpur	(Kaniauj)	--------	A.N. 2/424.
32	Shujaat Khan	1567 A.D.	Qasba-i-Etawah	(Agra)	--------	A.N. 2/437.
33	Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani	1567 A.D.	Bayana	(Agra)	--------	T.A. 2/341.
34	Asaf Khan	1567 A.D.	Bayana	(Agra)	--------	M.U.T. 2/105, T.A. 2/341.
			Bhasawar,	(Agra)	--------	------do------
			Wazirpur	(Agra)	--------	------do------
35	Sharif Khan	1568 A.D.	--------	Kanauj	--------	A.N. 2/487.
36	Shaham Khan Jalair	1572 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	A.N. 3/27.
37	Husain Khan Jalair	1573 A.D.	Patiali	(Kanauj)	--------	A.N. 3/51.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA AGRA]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES — 55

SARKAR AGRA — 19
SARKAR KALPI — 11
SARKAR NARNAUL — 4
SARKAR ALWAR — 3
SARKAR KOL — 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	1574 A.D.	--------	Agra	--------	M.U.T.2/178.
39	Sayyid Abdulla Khan Chaugan Beg	1574 A.D.	Bayana	(Agra)	--------	M.U.T.2/182.
40	Qasim Ali Khan Baqqal	1579 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	M.U.T.2/290.
41	Zain Khan Koka	1579 A.D.	Etawah	(Agra)	--------	A.N. 3/407.
42	Muhammad Ghaznavi	1581 A.D.	Shamsabad	(Kanauj)	(Agra)	A.N. 3/512.
43	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	1590 A.D.	--------	Kapli	--------	A.N. 3/885.
44	Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad	1591 A.D.	Shamsabad	(Kanauj)	(Agra)	M.U.T. 2/389.
45	Muttalib Khan	1583 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	A.N. 3/617.
46	Qasim Ali	1590 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	A.N. 3/888.
47	Usmail Quli Khan	1594 A.D.	--------	Kalpi	--------	A.N. 3/1001.
48	Raja Rai Singh	--------	Niryad, Shamsa- -bad, Nurpur	(Kanauj)	--------	Dalpat Vilas. 30,41-42.

Table 3.5.3

<u>JAGIR</u> ASSIGNMENTS IN <u>SUBA</u> AWADH

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sultan Husain Khan Jalair	1558 A.D.	Sandila	(Lucknow)	———	A.N. 2/106.
2	*Ali Quli Khan*	1559 A.D.	———	Lucknow	———	A.N. 2/125.
3	Jalairs	1559 A.D.	———	Lucknow	———	A.N. 2/126.
4	Qaya Khan	1560 A.D.	———	Bahraich	———	A.N. 2/150-50
5	Ali Quli Khan-i Zaman	1560 A.D.	<u>Pargana</u>	———	Awadh	Bayazid.239.
6	Munim Khan	1563 A.D.	<u>Pargana</u>	(Khairabad)	———	A.N. 2/294.
7	Amir Khan-i Jamal	1565 A.D.	Nimkhar	(Khairabad)	———	Bayazid. 286.
8	*Shah Budagh Khan*	1565 A.D.	Nimkhar	(Khairabad)	———	Arif. 84.
9	Sikandar Khan Uzbek	1565 A.D.	———	Awadh	———	A.N. 2/376, M.U.T.2/75-76
10	Sikandar Khan Jalair	1565 A.D.	———	———	Awadh	A.N. 2/376.
11	Shah Budagh Khan	——do——	———	———	——do——	——do——

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	Amir Khan	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
13	Muhammad Amin Diwana	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
14	Sultan Quli Khaldar	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
15	Chalma Tawachi	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
16	Shah Tahir Badakshi	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
17	Khalilullah	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
18	Gada Ali Tolkchi	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
19	Khan Quli Sarban	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
20	Yusuf Taghai	——do——	————	————	——do——	——do——
21	Yar Shahi	1567 A.D.	NimKhar	(Khairbad)	————	A.N. 2/88.
22	Asadullah	1567 A.D.	Sultanpur, few other pargana of Hasan Khan Bachgotio	(Awadh)	————	Bayazid. 300.
23	Lal Khan Badakshi	1568 A.D.	Daryabad	(Awadh)	————	Bayazid. 302.
24	Husain Khan	1568 A.D.	————	Lucknow	————	M.U.T. 3/18.
25	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1568 A.D.	————	Lucknow	————	A.N. 2/492.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	Sikandar Khan Uzbek	1572 A.D.	Khitta-i-Lucknow	(Lucknow)	---------	A.N. 2/534, M.U.T. 2/139.
27	Payanda Muhammad Sultan	1573 A.D.	---------	Gorakhpur	---------	Bayazid.314, 317.
28	Khwaja Amina Khwaja Jahan	1575 A.D.	---------	Lucknow	---	M.U.T. 2/189.
29	Tarsun Khan	1580 A.D.	---------	---------	Awadh	A.N. 3/422.
30	Masum Khan Farankhudi	1580 A.D.	---------	Awadh	---------	A.N. 3/484.
31	Mihtar Khan	1581 A.D.	---------	Bahraich	---------	A.N. 3/543.
32	Wazir Khan	1581 A.D.	---------	Bahraich	---------	A.N. 3/543.
33	Tarson Muhammad Khan	1582 A.D.	---------	---------	Awadh	A.N. 3/422.
34	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1585 A.D.	---------	---------	Awadh	A.N. 3/701.
35	Mir Abdul Ghuyas	1585 A.D.	---------	Lucknow	---------	M.U.T. 2/358.
36	Mir Sharif Amuli	1604 A.D.	---------	Bahraich	---------	A.N. 3/1249.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA AWADH]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES — 33

SARKAR LUCKNOW — 8	SARKAR AWADH — 5
SARKAR BAHRAICH — 4	SARKAR KHAIRABAD - 4
	SARKAR GORAKHPUR - 1

OTHERS: WHICH IS MENTIONED BY SUBA — 11

TABLE - 3.5.4

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA AJMER

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Yea of assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Muhammand Quli Khan Barlas	1557 A.D.	———	Nagaur	———	A.N.2/84.
2	Muhammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri	1558 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	A.N. 2/103.
3	Mirza Sharfuddin Husain	1560 A.D.	———	Nagaur	———	A.N.2/151,197.
4	Mirza Sharfuddin Husain	1562 A.D.	———	Ajmer	———	M.U.T.2/46.
5	Tarsan Muhammad Khan	1562 A.D.	———	Ajmer	———	A.N.2/243.
6	Shah Budagh Khan	——do——	———	——do——	———	——do——
7	Abdul Mutallib	——do——	———	——do——	———	——do——
8	Khurram Khan	——do——	———	——do——	———	——do——
9	Muhammad Husain Shaikh	——do——	———	——do——	———	——do——
10	Husain Quli Beg	1563 A.D.	———	Ajmer Nagaur	———	A.N.2/302-3.
11	Jag Mal	1563 A.D.	Qila-Merta	(Nagaur)	———	A.N.2/304.
12	Husain Quli Khan	1563 A.D.	Hajipur	(Jodhpur)	———	M.U.T.2/57.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	Raisal Darbari	1565 A.D.	Rewasa Kausli Khandela Udaipur	(Nagaur) (Nagaur) (Nagaur) (Chittor)	———	Relaqat Ali * Khan. 168, C.M.Aggarwal.*5
13	Husain Quli Khan	1563 A.D.	Dandauna	(Nagaur)	———	Arif. 73.
14	Nazar Bahadur	1567 A.D.	Qila-i Siwi Super	(Ranthabbhor)	———	T.A.2/342,A.N.2 M.U.T.2/105.
15	Shah Muhammad Khan Qalati	1567 A.D.	Kota	(Hadauti)	———	T.A.2/342,A.N.2/443, M.U.T.2/105.
16	Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	1568 A.D.	Mandalgarh	(Chittor)	———	A.N.2/476, T.A.2/341,348.
17	Mihtar Khan	1569 A.D.	———	(Ranthabbhor)	———	A.N.2/496.
18	Mir Muhammad Khan Khan-i-Kalan	1570 A.D.	———	Nagaur, Ajmer, Jodhpur	———	A.N.2/517,Arif.131.
19	Mir Muhammad Khan	1572 A.D.	———	Nagaur, Ajmer, Jodhpur	———	Arif. 157.
20	Farrukh Khan	1573 A.D.	———	Nagaur	———	M.U.T.2/153,A.N.3/49
21	Rai Ram	1573 A.D.	Sajat	(Jodhpur)	———	A.N.2/49.
22	Farrukh Khan	1573 A.D.	Merta	(Nagaur)	———	T.A.2/395.

* Relaqat Ali Khan, The Kachhwahas under Akbar and Jahangir.

* C.M.Agarwal, Akbar and his Hindu Officers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	Sadiq Khan	1573 A.D.	——	Sirohi	——	A.N.3/91.
24	Ram Das Kachwaha	1573 A.D.	Harba	(Ajmer)	——	T.A.2/422.
25	Kala S/O Ram Rai	1575 A.D.	Merta	(Nagaur)	——	A.N.3/225.
26	Udai Singh	Before 1575	Siwana Sojat Satalmer * Pokhran *	(Jodhpur)* (Jodhpur) (Bikaner) (Bikaner)	Ajmer —— —— ——	T.A.2/571, <u>Pargana ri vigat.</u> 1/76.
27	Raja Lon Karan	1576 A.D.	Sambhar	(Ajmer)	——	M.U.T.2/236.
28	Ghazi Khan	1576 A.D.	Islampur Mohi	(Chittor)	——	M.U.T.2/249.
29	Abdur Rahman Beg	1576 A.D.	Madaria	(Chittor)	——	M.U.T.2/249.
30	Dastam Khan	1577 A.D.	——	——	Suba-i Ajmer	M.U.T.2/295.
31	Dastam Khan	1577 A.D.	——	Ranthambour	——	A.N.3/295.
32	Mujahid Beg	1577 A.D.	Islampur Mohi	(Chittor)	——	A.N.3/305.
33	Dastam Khan	1579 A.D.	——	——	Ajmer	A.N.3/479.
34	Payanda Muhammad Khan	1580 A.D.	——	——	Ajmer	A.N.3/466.

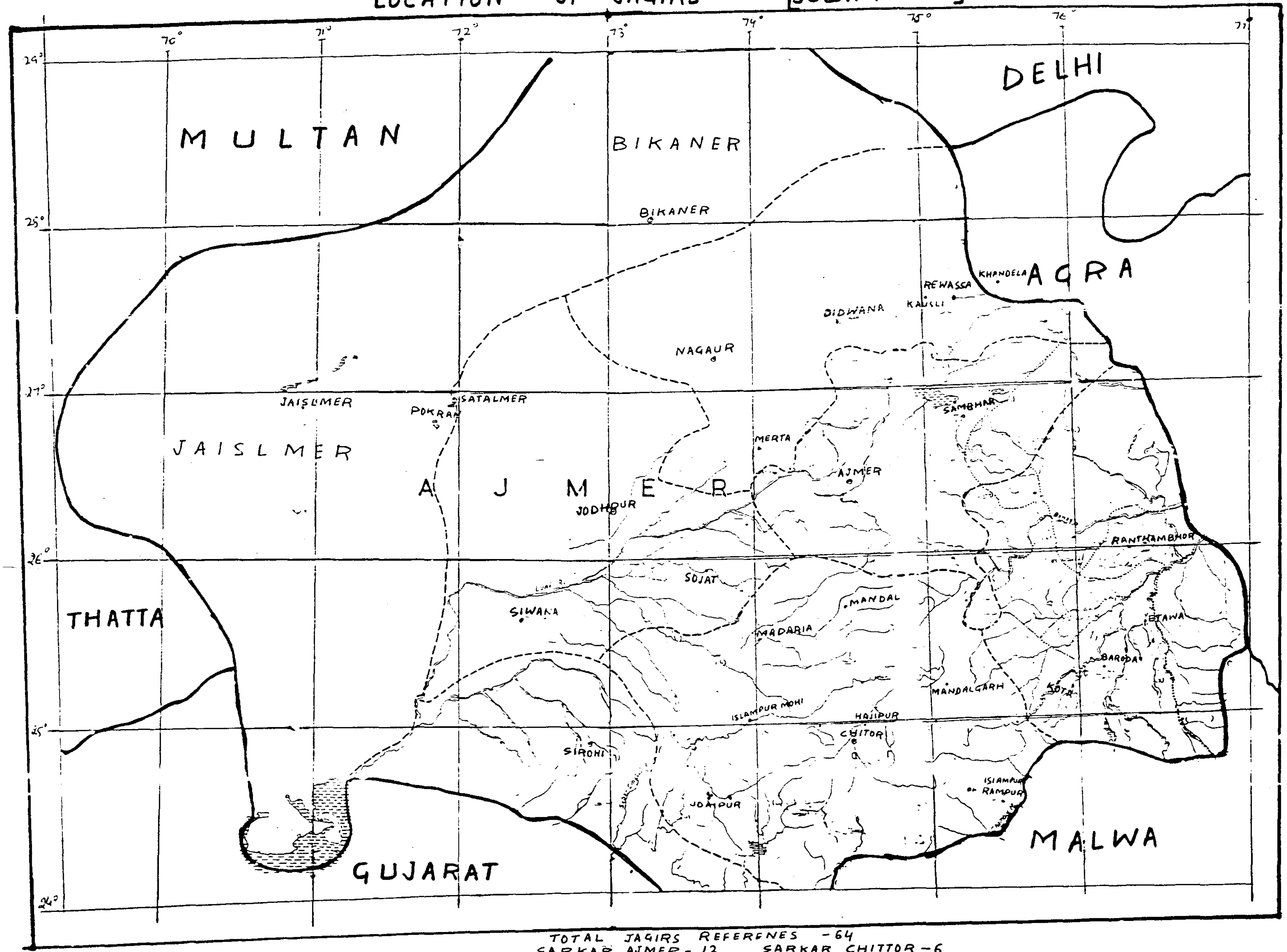
* <u>Watan Jagir</u>

* He could not bring under control.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	Raja Rai Singh	Before 1580	Pannah	(Nagaur)	———	A.N.3/985,1068,
			Bandu	(Patan)	———	Dalpat Vilas.30,
			Soartha	(Soartha)	———	—do—
			Sojat	(Jodhpur)	———	—do—
			Merta	(Nagaur)	———	—do—
36	Sayyid Hashim	—do—	———	———	—do—	—do—
37	Sayyid Qasim	—do—	———	———	—do—	—do—
38	Abdur Rahim	1580 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	A.N.3/480.
39	Abdur Rahim	1580 A.D.	———	Ranthambour	———	A.N.3/480.
40	Achla S/O Balabdhar	1580 A.D.	———	Ranthambour	———	A.N.3/478
41	Saiyed Hamid Bukhari	1581 A.D.	———	Sirohi	———	A.N.3/544.
42	Kamaluddin Husain Diwana	1581 A.D.	———	Sirohi	———	T.A.2/571.
43	Mir Kalan	1581 A.D.	———	Sirohi	———	A.N.3/544.
44	Jakmal	1583 A.D.	———	Sirohi	———	M.U.T. 2/337
45	Rai Durga	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
46	Raja Lonkaran	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
47	Raja Ram Chand of Bhatta	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48	Mukammad Beg	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
49	Mota Raja	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
50	Sayyid Qasim	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
51	Sayyid Ahmad Barha	1584 A.D.	———	Ajmer	———	T.A.2/571.
52	Sharmodi	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
53	Sangu Rajput	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
54	Shartan Rathore	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
55	Shiroda	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
56	Tulsi Das Jadun	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
57	Hashim	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
58	Raja Rai Singh	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	T.A.2/571.
59	Ali Murad	1586 A.D.	Baroda	(Ranthambour)	———	A.N.3/780.
60	Abdur Rahim Mirza Khan	1589 A.D.	———	(Ranthambour)	———	A.N.3/780.
61	Saiyed Qasim	1584 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	A.N. 3/865, T.A., 2/629.
62	Mir Sharif Amuli	1598 A.D.	———	———	Ajmer	A.N.3/1112.
63	Rai Patar Das	1599 A.D.	Bandu	Patan	Gujarat	A.N., 3, 1104, 1121.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA AJMER]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENES - 64
SARKAR AJMER - 12 SARKAR CHITTOR - 6
SARKAR JODHPUR - 7

TABLE -3.5.5

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA BANGAL

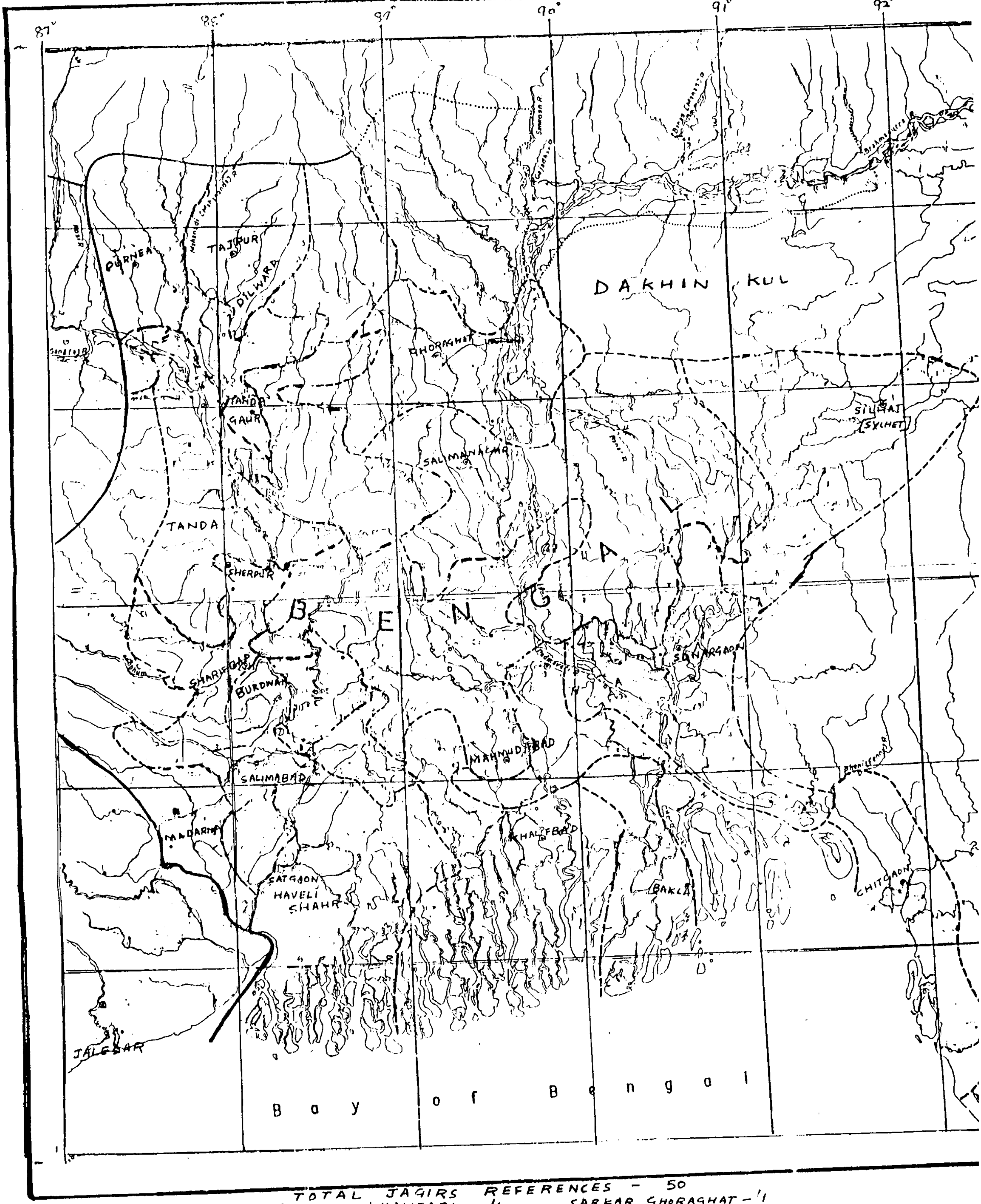
Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Yea of assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Munim Khan	1574 A.D.	Pargana	———	(Bengal)	A.N.3/164.
2	Majnun Khan Qaqshal	1574 A.D.	———	Ghoraghat	———	Bayzid. 341
3	Sayyid Khan Toqhbai	1574 A.D.	———	Sonargaon	———	Bayzid. 341
4	Qaya Khan	1574 A.D.	Burdwan	(Sharifabad)	———	Bayzid. 341
5	Tukhta Allabam	1574 A.D.	———	Satgaon	———	Bayzid. 341
6	Majnun Khan Qaqshal	1575 A.D.	———	Ghoraghat	———	T.A.2/459,Arif.204.
7	Khan-i Jahan	1575 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	M.U.T.2/222.
8	Daud Kararani	1575 A.D.	———	Orissa	———	A.N.3/165.
9	Muzaffar Khan	1579 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	Arif. 246.
10	Khaldin Khan	1579 A.D.	———	Jaleasar	———	A.N. 3/430.
11	Mir Jamaluddin Husain Anju	1579 A.D.	———	Jaleasar	———	A.N. 3/430.
12	Masum Kabuli	1580 A.D.	———	———	Orissa	A.N. 3/410.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	Haji Kolabi	1580 A.D.	Dilwara	(Tajpur)	———	A.N.3/410.
14	Azam Koka Khan-i-Azam	1580 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/454, M.U.T.2/293.
15	Murad Khan	1580 A.D.	———	Fatehabad	———	A.N. 3/468.
16	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	1583 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N. 3/594.
17	Qutlu Khan Lohani	1583 A.D.	———	Orissa	———	M.U.T.2/333.
18	Tarson Muhammad Khan	1584 A.D.	Tardipur	(Tanda)	———	A.N.3/619.
19	Wazir Khan	1584 A.D.	———	(Tanda)	———	A.N.3/654.
20	Selim Khan Kakar	1584 A.D.	———	(Tajpur)	———	A.N.3/722.
21	Khan Azim	1584 A.D.	———	Bengal	———	A.N.3/655.
22	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	1585 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/701, T.A.2/501.
23	Muhammad Sadiq Khan	1585 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N. 3/695.
24	Mujhid Kambu	1585 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N. 3/660.
25	Perhram Khan	1585 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N. 3/660.
26	Mirza Jani Beg	1587 A.D.	Fort Siwana	———	———	M.U.T.2/370.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	Payanda Muhammad Khan	1587 A.D.	———	Ghoraghat	Bengal	A.N. 3/801.
28	Pahar Khan Khasa Khail	1591-92 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/935.
29	Tahir Khan	1592 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/935.
30	Makndum Zada	1592 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/935.
31	Maksus Khan	1591-92 A.D.	———	Bengal	———	A.N.3/935.
32	Mir Muhammad Diwana	1592 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/935.
33	Sher Khan S/O Itimad Khan	1592 A.D.	———	Khalifabad	———	A.N.3/968.
34	Ram Chand	1592 A.D.	Fort Manpur	———	———	A.N. 3/969.
35	Khwaja Usman	1592 A.D.	Khalifabad	(Khalifabad)	———	A.N.3/968.
36	Khwaja Sulaiman	1592 A.D.	Khalifabad	(Khalifabad)	———	A.N.3/968.
37	Khwaja Bakr Ansar	1592 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/935.
38	Babuli Mankli	1592 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/935.
39	Sakat Singh	1594 A.D.	———	Bengal	———	A.N.3/998.
40	Sharif Sarmodi	1594 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/998.
41	Sultan Khusrau	1594 A.D.	———	Orissa	———	A.N.3/999.
42	Baqir Ansari	1594 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/998.

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LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA BENGAL]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES - 50

SARKAR KHALIFABAD - 4
SARKAR TAJPUR - 3
SARKAR FATEHBAD - 1
SARKAR SHARIFABAD - 1
SARKAR GHORAGHAT - 1
SARKAR TANDA - 2
SARKAR SONARGAON - 1
SARKAR SATGAON - 1
SARKAR ORISSA - 7

OTHERS: WHICH IS MENTIONED BY SUBA - 26.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43	Baqir Safarci	1594 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/998.
44	Mir Qasim Badakshi	1594 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/998.
45	Man Singh	1594 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/998.
46	Yuqub Kashming	1594 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/998.
47	Jagat Singh	1594 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/998.
48	Sher Singh	1602 A.D.	Tirah	(Tajpur)	———	A.N.3/1215.
49	Man Singh	1604 A.D.	———	———	Bengal	A.N.3/1250.

Table 3.5.6

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA BIHAR

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sikandar Sur	1557 A.D.	Kharid	———	Bihar Wa an hudud	A.N.2/232.
2	Muhibb Ali Khan	1568 A.D.	———	Rohtas	———	Bayazid.302.
3	Raja Gajpati	1573 A.D.	Bhojpur Bahia-jit	(Rohtas) (Rohtas)	———	Bayazid.319. Bayazid.319.
4	Hasan Khan Batani	1573 A.D.	———	Saran	———	A.N.3/115.
5	Munim Khan	1574 A.D.	———	Patna	(Bihar)	A.N.3/144, Arif. 193.
6	Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas	1574 A.D.	———	Khitta-i-Hajipur	———	Bayazid. 341.
7	Farhat Khan	1574 A.D.	———	Rohtas	———	Arif.194, M.U.T. 2/185.
8	Muhsin Khan	1574 A.D.	———	Patna	———	Bayazid. 347.
9	Khan-I-Alam-Chalma Beg	1574 A.D.	———	Tirhut	———	Bayazid.341.
10	Wazir Khan-i-Jamil	1574 A.D.	Khalgaon	(Monghyr)	———	Bayazid. 341.
11	Munim Khan	1575 A.D.	———	Patna	Bihar	A.N.3/189.

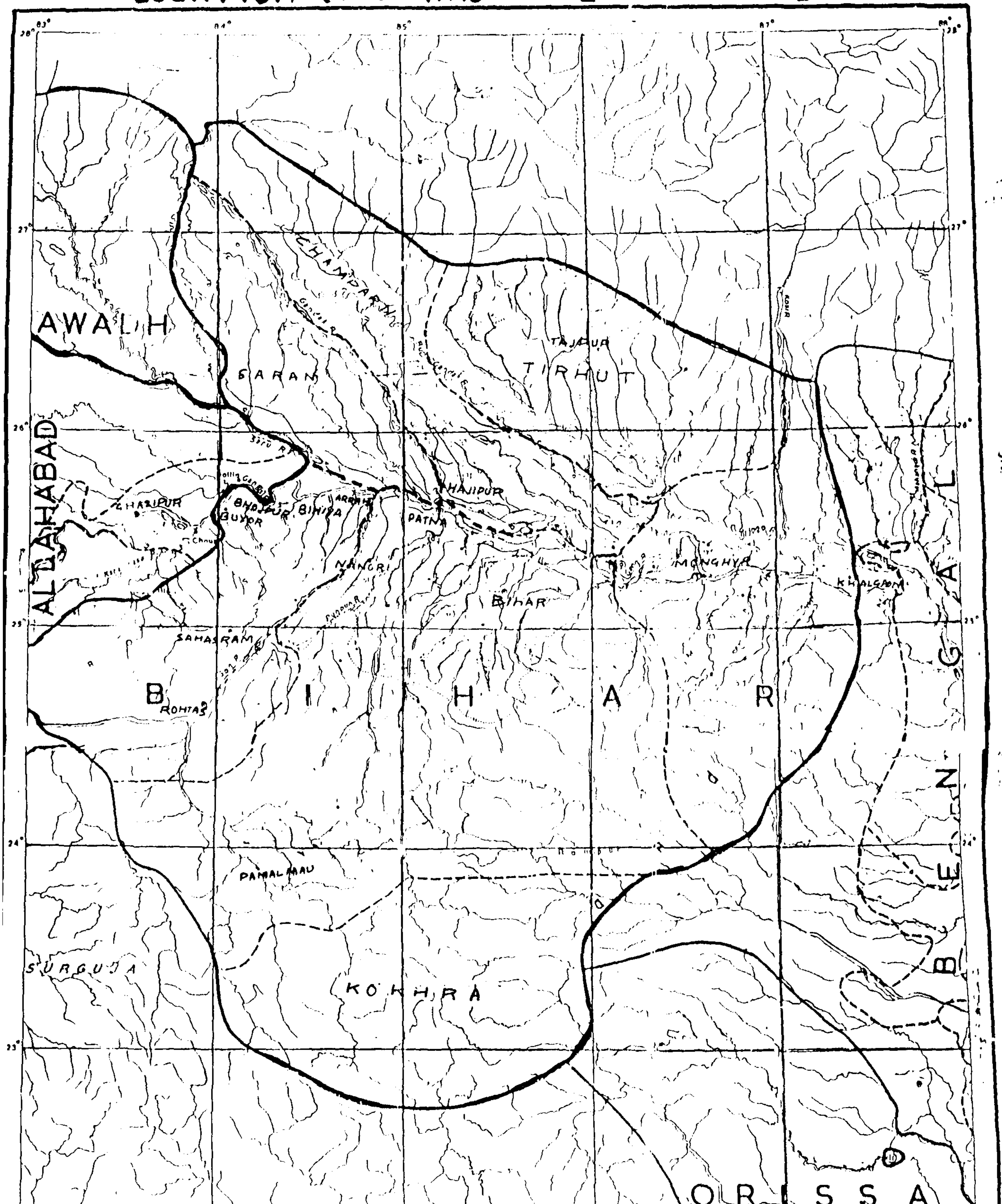
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	Muzaffar Khan	1575 A.D.	Sahasram	(Rohtas)	———	Bayazid.348.
13	Tangar quli Sultan	1575 A.D.	———	———	Bihar	Bayazid.347.
14	Khwaja Muhammad Zakariya	1575 A.D.	Tajpur	(Tirhut)	———	Bayazid.351.
15	Muhammad Quli Khan	1575 A.D.	———	Hajipur	———	A.N.3/192.
16	Muzaffar Khan	1575 A.D.	———	Hajipur	———	A.N.3/192.
17	Mir Muhammad Shaukati	1575 A.D.	———	Hajipur	———	A.N.3/193.
18	Muzaffar Khan	1576 A.D.	———	Patna	———	M.U.T.2/235.
19	Farhat Khan	1576 A.D.	Arrah	(Rohtas)	———	A.N.3/240, M.U.T. 2/244.
20	Shahbaz Khan	1577 A.D.	———	Rohtas	———	Arif. 221.
21	Muhibb Ali Khan	1577 A.D.	———	Rohtas	———	Arif .222.
22	Muhammad Masum Kabuli	1577 A.D.	Ishhar	Rohtas	———	Arif .222-23.
23	Shujaat Khan	1577 A.D.	———	Bihar	———	A.N.3/320.
24	Mir Muizzul Mulk	1577 A.D.	———	Bihar	———	A.N.3/320.
25	Muhibb Ali Khan	1579 A.D.	———	Rohtas	———	M.U.T.2/290.
26	Bahar Khan Khasa Khail	1579 A.D.	Qila-I-Patna	(Patna)	———	M.U.T.2/292.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	Masum Kabuli	1580 A.D.	———	Patna	———	A.N.3/418-19.
28	Said Beg Kakshi	1580 A.D.	Sesaram	(Rohtas)	———	A.N.3/418-19.
29	Saadat Ali	1580 A.d.	Nanor	(Rohtas)	———	A.N.3/418-19.
30	Said Khan Bakshi S/O Said Khan Durvesh	1580 A.D.	———	Tirhut	———	A.N.3/418-19.
31	Shaham	1580 A.D.	———	Hajipur	———	A.N.3/418-19.
32	Mir Muzul Mulk	1580 A.D.	Arrah	(Rohtas)	———	——do——
33	Mir Akbar Ali	1580 A.D.	——do——	——do——	———	——do——
34	Samaji Khan	1580 A.D.	——do——	——do——	———	——do——
35	Kamaluddin Husain Sistani	1580 A.D.	Khitta-I-Buxar	(Rohtas)	———	A.N.3/422.
36	Sayyid Hasan	1580 A.D.	——do——	——do——	———	A.N.3/422.
37	Dud Raj	1580 A.D.	——do——	——do——	———	A.N.3/422.
38	Saadat Ali	1580 A.D.	Qila-I Kant	Rohtas	———	A.N.3/475.
39	Payand	1580 A.D.	——do——	——do——	———	A.N.3/475.
40	Rustam	1580 A.D.	——do——	——do——	———	A.N.3/475.
41	Rup Narayan Bumi	1580 A.D.	——do——	——do——	———	A.N.3/475.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42	Aziz Koka	1580 A.D.	———	Hajipur	———	A.N.3/476.
43	Shahbaz Khan	1580 A.D.	———	Patna	———	A.N.3/476.
44	Shaham Khan	1581 A.D.	———	Tirhut	———	A.N.3/544.
45	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1581 A.D.	Fort Rohtas	(Rohtas)	———	A.N.3/514.
46	Said Khan	1583 A.D.	———	Hajipur	———	A.N.3/629.
47	Khan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka	1583 A.D.	———	Hajipur	Bihar	A.N.3/550,594 T.A.2/563, M.U.T.2/292.
47a	Muhammad SadiK Khan	1584 A.D.	———	Patna	———	A.N.3/654.
48	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	1585 A.D.	———	———	Bihar	A.N.3/701.
49	Mujahid Kambu	1585 A.D.	———	Bihar	———	A.N.3/660.
50	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1585 A.D.	———	Bihar	———	A.N.3/701.
51	Muhibb Ali Khan	1585 A.D.	———	———	Bihar	A.N.3/672.
52	Ram Das Kachchwa	1585 A.D	———	———	Bihar	A.N.3/660.
53	Perhram Khan	1585 A.D.	———	———	Bihar	A.N.3/660.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	Yusuf Khan	1587 A.D.	————	————	Bihar	A.N.3/801.
55	Man Singh	1587-88 A.D.	————	Bihar, Hajipur, Patna.	———— ————	A.N.3/790,801 M.U.T.2/375.
56	Bhagwan Das	1587 A.D.	————	Bihar	————	A.N.3/801.
57	Bhagwan Das	1589 A.D.	————	Rohtas	————	A.N.3/816.
58	Muhibb Ali Khan	1589 A.D.	Rohtas	(Rohtas)	————	A.N.3/816-817
59	Abdulla Khan S/O Khan Azim	1594 A.D.	————	Bihar	————	A.N.3/1006.
60	Khan Azim	1595 A.D.	————	Hajipur	————	M.U.T.2/412, A.N.3/1006.
61	Khan Azim	1605 A.D.	————	————	Bihar	A.N.3/1257.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA BIHAR]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES - 62

SARKAR ROHTAS - 18 SARKAR BIHAR - 16
SARKAR HAJIPUR - 10 SARKAR TIRHUT - 4
SARKAR SARAN - 1 SARKAR MONGHYR - 1
OTHERS : WHICH IS MENTIONED BY SUBA - 12

Table 3.5.7

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA DELHI

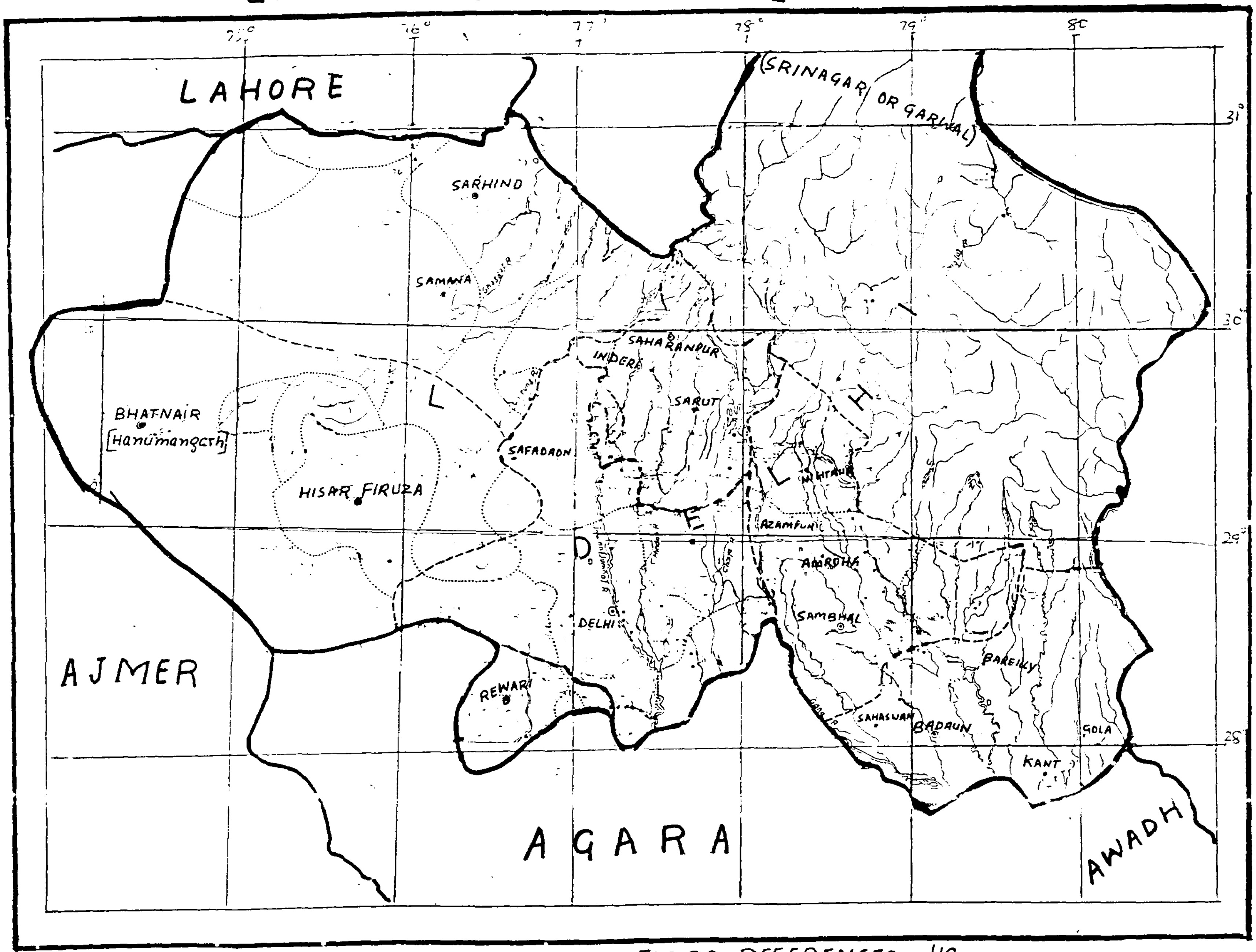
Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Ali Quli Khan	1556 A.D.	———	Sambhal	———	A.N.2/25.
2	Tardi Beg Khan	1556 A.D.	———	Delh	———	A.N.2/36.
3	Ali Quli Khan Khan-i Zaman	1556 A.D.	———	Sambhal be-sair-i-mian-i doab	———	A.N.2/71.
4	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1556 A.D.	———	Delhi	———	A.N.2/75.
5	Beg Mirak	1559 A.D.	———	Hisar Firuza	———	Bayazid. 279.
6	Husain Khan	1560 A.D.	Inderi	(Saharnpur)	———	M.U.T.2/29.
7	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	1560 A.D.	———	Delhi	———	A.N.2/141.
8	Sher muhammad Diwana	1560 A.D.	Bhatnair	(Hisar Firuza)	———	A.N.2/166, M.U.T.2/34, Bayazid. 225.
9	Khwaja Abdul Majid	1560 A.D.	———	Delhi	———	A.N.2/109.
10	Khwaja muzaffar Ali	1560 A.D.	———	Hisar Firuza	———	Bayazid .240.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Munim Khan	1560 A.D.	————	Hisar firuza	————	Bayazid. 240.
12	Munim Khan	1561 A.D.	————	Hisar Firuza	————	Bayazid.249.
13	Mir muhammad Munshi	1562 A.D.	Sarut	(Saharnpur)	————	A.N.2/279.
14	Qasim Ali Sistani	1562 A.D.	Sarut	(Saharnpur)	————	A.N.2/279, M.U.T.2/52.
15	Munim Khan	1563 A.D.	————	Hisar Firuza	————	A.N.2/294.
16	Shah Qurban	1563 A.D.	Inder	(Saharnpur)	————	A.N.2/294.
17	Qulich chaugan Begi	1563 A.D.	Ponian	(Hisar Firuza)	————	Bayazid. 284.
18	Tatar Khan	1563 A.D.	Saharwan	(Badaun)	————	M.U.T.3/121.
19	Nuruddin Muhammad Tarkhan	1564 A.D.	————	————	Delhi	Bayazid.284.
20	Muhammad Tarkhan	1564 A.D.	Safadaon	(Delhi)	————	Bayazid.284.
21	Ibrahim Husain Mirza	1566 A.D.	Samana	(Sirhind)	————	A.N.2/392.
22	Hafiz Rakhna	1566 A.D.	Azampur	(Sambhal)	————	M.U.T.2/87.
23	Hafiz Rakhna	1566 A.D.	Balda-I-Sirhind	(Sirhind)	————	T.A.2/323.
24	Muhammad Sultan Mirza	1566 A.D.	————	Sirhind	————	T.A.2/323.
25	Ibrahim Husain Mirza	1567 A.D. 1567 A.d.	Azampur --	(Sambhal) Sambhal	———— ————	A.N.2/413. A.N.2/413-14.
26	Shah Mirza, Ulugh Mirza	1567 A.D.	Nihtaur	(Sambhal)	————	A.N.2/413, M.U.T. 2/93.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	Tatar Khan	1567 A.D.	---------	---------	Delhi	A.N.2/424, T.A.2/331.
28	Mir Muhammad Khan-I-Khan	1568 A.D.		Sambhal	---------	A.N.2/487, M.U.T.2/109.
29	Husain Khan	1568 A.D.	Kant Gola	(Badaun)	---------	M.U.T.2/130.
30	Husain Khan	1573 A.D.	Kant-Gola	(Badaun)	---------	M.U.T.2/154.
31	Muinuddin Ahmad Khan Faran Khudi	1573 A.D.	---------	Sambhal	---------	M.U.T.2/154.
32	Muinuddin Ahmad Khan	1573 A.D.	---------	---------	Delhi	M.U.T.2/158.
33	Tayab Khan	1573 A.D.	---------	Delhi	---------	T.A.2/411.
34	Husain Khan	1574 A.D.	Kant Gola	(Badaun)	---------	M.U.T.2/182, A.N.3/154.
35	Malik Ashraf	1574 A.D.	Thanesar	(Sirhind)	---------	A.N.3/201.
36	Deep Chand Manjhula	1577 A.D.	Bareilly	(Badaun)	---------	M.U.T.2/257.
37	Mulla Nuruddin Muhammad	1580 A.D.	Safadaun	Delhi	---------	M.U.T.3/199.
38	Mir Abul Hasan	1581 A.D.	Amroha	(Sambhal)	---------	A.N.3/512.
39	Rup Narayan Bum	1580 A.D.	Qila-I-Kant	(Badaun)	---------	A.N.3/475.
40	Shaikh Muazam	1581 A.D.	Amroh	(Sambhal)	------	A.N.3/512

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	Maulana Mahmud	1581 A.D.	—	Sambhal	—	A.N.3/512.
42	Said Khan Chaghta	1583 A.D.	—	Sambhal	—	A.N.3/587.
43	Qulij Khan	1589 A.D.	—	Sambhal	—	A.N.3/817.
44	Abul Fazl	1595 A.D.	—	Sambhal	—	M.U.T.2/416.
45	Muzaffar Husain Mirza Qandhari	1595 A.D.	—	Sambhal	—	A.N.3/1031, M.U.T.2/416.
46	S. Sultan	1598 A.D.	Thanswar	(Delhi)	—	A.N. 3/1118.
47	Abu Said	1599	—	Sirhind	—	A.N.3/116
48	Raja Rai Singh	—	Bhatner	(Hisar Firuza)	Delhi	C.M.Agarwal. 135.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA DELHI]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES – 49

SARKAR SAMBHAL – 15 SARKAR BADAUN – 6

SARKAR DELHI – 8 SARKAR SIRHIND – 5

118-119

Table 3.5.8

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN *SUBA* GUJARAT

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	*Pargana*	*Sarkar*	*Suba*	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Mir Muhammad Khan Khan-i-Kalan	1570 A.D.	Frontier of Gujarat	——	——	A.N.3/517.
2	Mir Muhammad Khan	1572 A.D.	Frontier of Gujarat	——	——	Arif. 157.
3	Abdur Rahim Mirza Khan	1572 A.D.	——	Patan	——	A.N. 3/9.
4	Sayyid Ahmad Khan Barah	1572 A.D.	——	Patan	——	A.N. 3/9, M.U.T.2/144.
5	Mirza Azizkoka Khan-i-Azam	1572 A.D.	——	Ahmadabad	——	A.N. 3/13, M.U.T.2/167.
6	Hasan Khan Khazanchi	1572 A.D.	Bandar Khambayat	(Ahmadabad)	——	A.N. 3/15.
7	Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari	1572 A.D.	Dholqa	(Ahmadabad)	——	A.N. 3/15-16.
8	Shujaat Khan	1573 A.D.	Qila-i-Surat	(Surat)	——	Bayazid.322.
9	Aziz Koka	1573 A.D.	——	Ahmadabad	——	A.N.3/46, T.A.2/376.
10	Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan	1573 A.D.	——	Patan	——	A.N.3/46, Bayazid. 334.

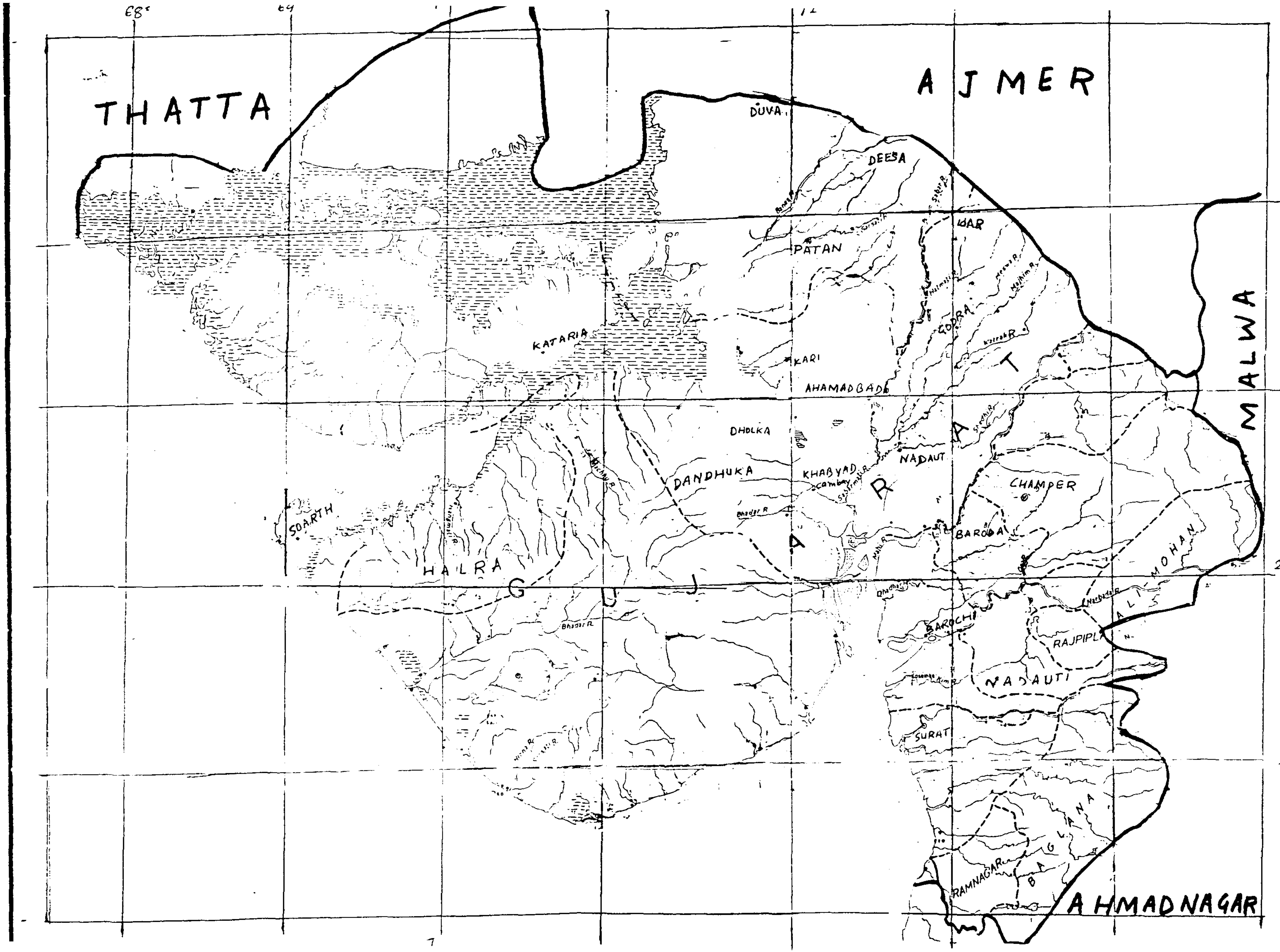
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Qutubddin Khan	1573 A.D.	———	Baroach Baroda	———	A.N.3/46, Bayazid .334.
12	Qulij Khan	1573 A.D.	———	Qala-i-iSurat	———	A.N.3/44, Bayazid. 388.
13	Mirza Muqeem	1573 A.D.	Idar	(Ahmadabad)	———	A.N.3/59.
14	Qulij Khan	1573 A.D.	———	Surat	———	A.N.3/59.
15	Qutub din Ahmad Khan	1573 A.D.	———	Broach	———	A.N.3/59, M.U.T.2/168.
16	Sayyid Ahmad Khan Barah	1573 A.D.	———	Patan	———	A.N.3/32.
17	Hasan Khan Khazanchi	1573 A.D.	Khambayat	(Ahmadabad)	———	A.N.3/59, T.A.2/404.
18	Wazir Khan	1573 A.D.	Dholka Dandhuka	(Ahmadabad)	———	T.A.2/420, M.U.T.2/173, A.N.3/89.
19	Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan	1573 A.D.	———	Patan	———	A.N.3/89, M.U.T.2/173.
20	Shah Ali Langah	1573 A.D.	Deesa	(Patan)	———	A.N.3/89, T.A.2/411.
21	Mirza Aziz Koka	1575 A.D.	———	Ahmadabad	———	Arif. 204, T.A.2/454.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan	1575 A.D.	——	Patan	——	Arif. 206.
23	Qulij Khan	1576 A.D.	——	Surat	——	T.A.2/480-82.
24	Tarsan Khan	1576 A.D.	——	Patan	——	A.N.3/267.
25	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	1577 A.D.	——	Ahmadabad	——	M.U.T.2/364.
26	Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan	1577 A.D.	——	Baroach Baroda	——	M.U.T.2/257.
27	Wazir Khan	1577 A.D.	——	——	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/256.
28	Shahbuddin Ahmad Khan	1577 A.D.	——	——	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/306.
29	Wazir Khan	1577 A.D.	Idar	(Ahmadabad)	——	A.N.3/306.
30	Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan	1577 A.D.	——	——	Gujarat	Arif. 233.
31	Smihab Khan					
32	Wazir Khan	1578 A.D.	——	——	Gujarat	T.A.2/501.
33	Tarson Muhammad Khan	1579 A.D.	——	Patan	——	M.U.T.2/282.
34	Itimad Khan Gujarati	1580 A.D.	——	Patan	——	A.N.3/465.
35	Itimad Khan	1583 A.D.	——	——	Gujarat	A.N.3/596, M.U.T.2/332-3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	Mir Calih Dai	1583 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/333.
37	Mir Hashim	1583 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/332-3
38	Muhammad Husain	1583 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/332-3
39	Sher Khan S/O Itimad Khan	1583 A.D.	Kari	(Ahmadabad)	———	M.U.T.2/338.
40	Sher Khan Faludi	1583 A.D.	———	Patan	———	M.U.T.2/339.
41	Sayyid Abul Ashaq	1583 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/332-3
42	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	1583 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	A.N.3/596,610
43	Sayyid Jalal Bukhari	1584 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	T.A.2/561-67.
44	Sher Khan Fuladi	1584 A.D.	———	Surat/Patan	———	T.A.2/568.
45	Beg Muhammad Toqbai	1584 A.D.	———	Gujarat	———	T.A.2/561.
46	Bumiyad Beg	1584 A.D.	———	Gujarat	———	T.A.2/561.
47	Mir Abul Muzaffar	1584 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	T.A.2/561, M.U.T.2/332-3
48	Mir Saleh	1584 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	T.A.2/561.
49	Mir Habib-ul-lah Abu-l-Ishaq	1584 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	T.A.2/561.
49	Mir Sharfuddin	1584 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	T.A.2/561.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50	Mir Sharfudin Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	1584 A.D.	----------	Braoch	----------	A.N.2/657.
51	Muhammad Husain Sheikh	1584 A.D.	----------	----------	Gujarat	T.A.2/567.
52	Qabil Khan Gujrati	1584 A.D.	Bhadnagar	(Patan)	----------	A.N.3/656.
53	Radham Khan	1584 A.D.	Bhadnagar	(Patan)	----------	A.N.3/656.
54	Itimad Khan	1584 A.D.	----------	(Patan)	----------	A.N.3/632.
55	Hashim Dai	1584 A.D.	----------	----------	Gujarat	T.A.2/561-67.
56	Amin Khan Ghori	1585 A.D.	Junagarh	(Junagarh)	----------	MUT.2/355,37
57	Qulij Khan	1585 A.D.	----------	Ahmadabad	----------	A.N.3/681.
58	Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari	1585 A.D.	----------	Patan	----------	M.U.T.2/[illegible], T.A.2/374.
59	Shaikh Abdur Rahman	1585 A.D.	----------	Patan	----------	M.U.T.2/359.
60	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	1585 A.D.	----------	----------	(Gujarat)	T.A. 2/566.
61	Sayyid Qasim		----------	----------	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/356.
62	Ismail Quli Khan	1588 A.D.	----------	----------	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/376, T.A.2/62.
63	Khan Azim	1589 A.D.	----------	Junagarh	----------	A.N.3/865,877 1184,M.U.T. 2/383,400.
64	Abdur Rahim MirzaKhan	1589 A.D.	----------	----------	Gujarat	A.N.3/865, T.A.2/588.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65	Khudawand of Deccan	1590 A.D.	Kari	(Ahmadabad)	———	M.U.T.2/384.
66	Amin Khan Ghori	1591 A.D.	Junagarh	(Junagarh)	———	M.U.T.2/392.
67	Quliz Khan	1593 A.D.	———	Surat, Baroda, Baroach	———	T.A.2/648, M.U.T.2/401.
68	Prince Murad	1593 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	M.U.T.2/401.
69	Raja Rai Singh	1593 A.D.	Junagarh	(Junagarh)	———	M.U.T.2/400.
70	Muhammad Sadiq Khan	1594 A.D.	———	Surat, Baroch, Baroda.	———	T.A.2/648-49, M.U.T.2/401.
71	Sadman S/O Murad Hazara	1603 A.D.	———	———	Gujarat	A.N.3/1236.
72	Abdulla Khan S/O Khan Azim	1603 A.D.	———	Junagarh	———	A.N. 3/1236.



THATTA
AJMER
MALWA
AHMADNAGAR
GUJARAT
DUVA
DEESA
IDAR
PATAN
GODRA
KARI
AHAMADBAD
KATARIA
DHOLKA
NADAUT
DANDHUKA
KHABYAD
Cambay
CHAMPER
BARODA
SOARTH
HALRA
MOHAN
ALI
BAROCHI
RAJPIPLA
NADAUTI
SURAT
RAMNAGAR
BAGLANA
68°
24°
23°
22°

Table 3.5.9

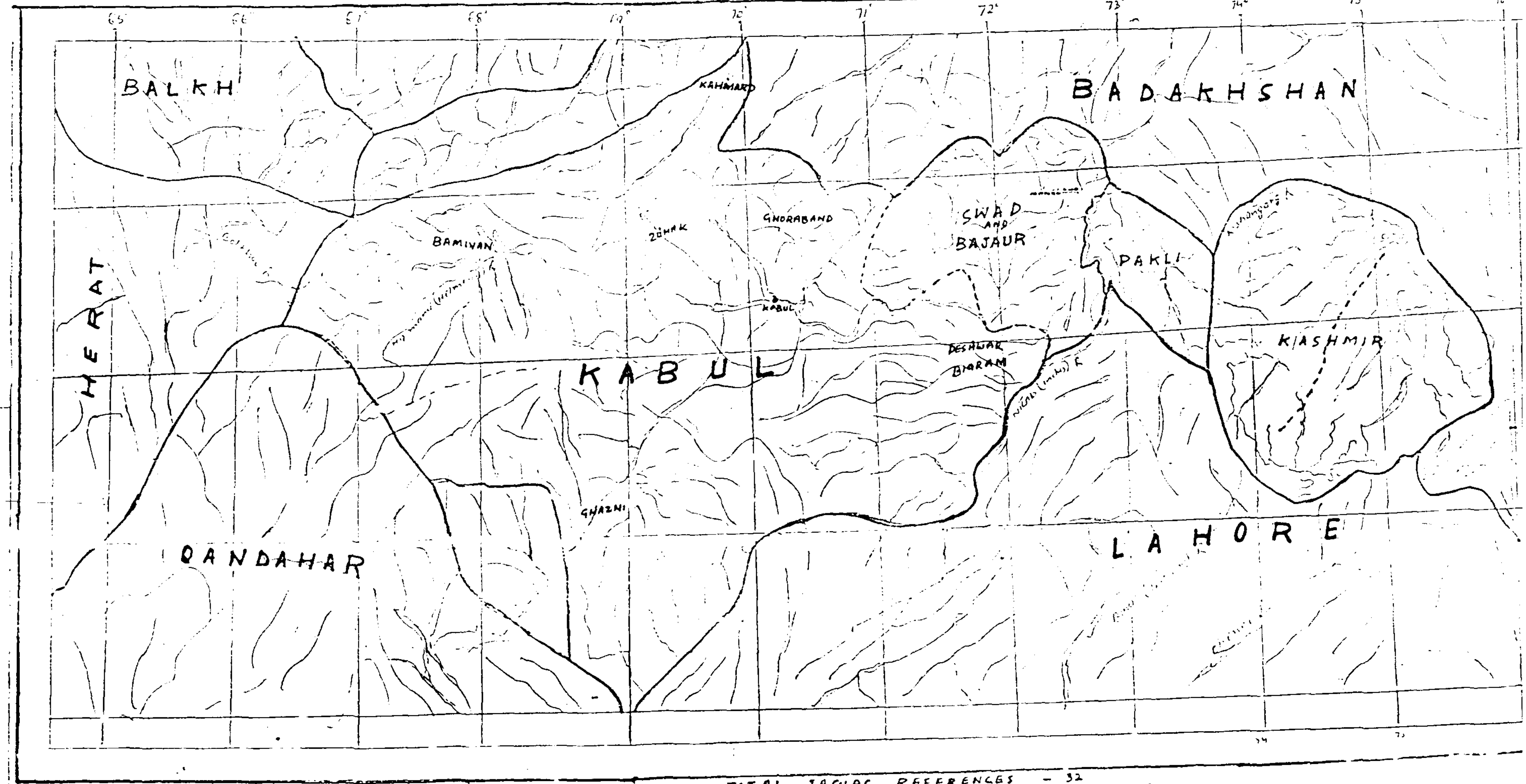
JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA KABUL

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Munim Khan	1556 A.D.	———	Kabul-wa-Gazni & other districts known as Nilab	———	A.N.2/25.
2	Bairam Khan	1556 A.D.	———	Qandhar	———	A.N.2/25.
3	Mir Hashim	1556 A.D.	Ghorband, Kahmard, zuhak	(Kabul)	——— ——— ———	A.N.2/30.
4	Khwaja Jalaluddin Bujuk	1556 A.D.	Ghazni	(Kabul)	———	A.N.2/85.
5	Haider Muhammad Khan Akta Begi	1560 A.D.	———	Kabul	———	T.A.2/269.
6	Tulak Khan	1563 A.D.	Mama Khatun	(Kabul)	———	A.N.2/285.
7	Mirza Khizr Khan Hazara	1563 A.D.	Ghaznin	(Kabul)	———	A.N.2/288.
8	Hamza Arab	1563 A.D.	Peshawar	(Kabul)	———	Bayazid. 255.
9	Mirza Faridun	1566 A.D.	———	Kabul	———	A.N.2/409.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	Zain Khan Koka	1586-88 A.D.	———	———	Kabul	T.A.2/622, M.U.T.2/370.
11	Sayyid Hamid Bukhari	1586 A.D.	Peshwar	(Kabul)	———	A.N.3/777-78.
12	Sadman S/O Murad Hazara	1587 A.D.	Ghazmin	(Kabul)	———	A.N.3/802.
13	Man Singh	1587-8	Zabulistan	(Kabul)	(Kabul)	A.N.3/790, M.U.T.361,364 370.
14	Muhammad Qasim Khan	1588 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	T.A.2/622.
14	Ismail Quli Khan	1588 A.D.	———	Swad-u-Bajaur	———	M.U.T.2/376, T.A.2/622.
15	Shah Beg	1589 A.D.	Begram	(Kabul)	———	A.N.3/855-56.
16	Husain Beg S. Umari	1589 A.D.	———	Pakli	———	A.N.3/855.
17	Takht Beg	1589 A.D.	Ghaznin	(Kabul)	———	A.N.3/867.
18	Sultan Husain	1590 A.D.	———	Pakli	———	A.N.3/855,875
19	Muhammad Qasim Khan	1590 A.D.	———	———	Kabul	M.U.T.2/383,93, 409.
20	Ahmad Beg Kabuli	1592 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	A.A.1/452.
21	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1592 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	A.N.3/959-60.
22	Hamza Beg Gurd	1594 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	A.A.1/452.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	Hasan Ali Arab	1594 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	A.A.1/452.
24	Quly Khan	1594-96 A.D.	———	———	Kabul	A.N.3/959,1073.
25	Muhammad Quli Beg	1594 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	A.A.1/452.
26	Muhammad Beg Atmaq	1594 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	A.A.1/370.
27	Mirza Qiwamuddin	1594 A.D.	———	Kashmir	———	A.A.1/452.
28	Shah Beg	1602 A.d.	Ghaznin	(Kabul)	———	A.N.3/1223.
29	Husain Beg S. Umari	1602 A.D.	Mozaffarwal	———	———	A.N. 3/1207.
30	Sharif Khan	1602 A.D.	Ghaznin	(Kabul)	———	A.N.3/1223.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA KABUL]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES - 32

SARKAR KABUL - 17
SARKAR QANDAHAR - 1
SARKAR KASHMIR - 8
SARKAR SWAD BAJAUR - 1
SARKAR PAKLI - 1

OTHERS: WHICH IS MENTIONED BY SUBA - 6.

Table 3.5.10

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA LAHORE

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani	1556 A.D.	City of Lahore	(Bari Doab)	———	A.N.2/73.
2	Sikandar Khan	1556 A.D.	Sailkot	(Rechnao Doab)	———	A.N.2/74.
3	Abul Qasim	1557 A.D.	Qila-i-Mankot	(Rechnao Doab)	———	A.N.2/91.
4	Husain Khan Turkiya	1557 A.D.	———	———	Lahore	A.N.2/96.
5	Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan	1560 A.D.	Bhera	(Chinahat Doab)	———	A.N.2/143.
6	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1560 A.D.	———	———	Lahore	A.N.2/143.
7	Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan	1560 A.D.	———	———	Lahore	A.N.2/143.
8	Mirza Abdullah Mughal	1560 A.D.	Pathaura/Thara	(Bari Doab)	Lahore	A.N.2/167.
9	Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka	1560 A.D.	———	———	Lahore	A.N.2/177.
10	Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka	1561 A.D.	———	Bari Doab	———	T.A.2/257, Bayazid. 245.
11	Jan Muhammd Bahsudi	1562 A.D.	Birka	(Bet Jallandhar Doab)	———	A.N.2/261.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	Munim Khan	1563 A.D.	Shahpur, Kalnaur, Jallandhar	(Bari Doab) (Bari Doab) (Bari Doab)	—— —— ——	A.N. 2/294. ——do—— ——do——
13	Mir Muhammad Khan	1563 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/299, Bayazid. 270.
14	Qutbuddin Khan	1563 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	——do——
15	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1563 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	——do——
16	Sharif Khan	1563 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	——do——
17	Jan Muhammad Bahsudi	1563 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	——do——
18	Raja Kapur Deo	1563 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	——do——
19	Raja Ram Chand	1563 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	——do——
20	Kamal Khan Gakkhar	1563 A.D.	<u>Pargana</u>	——	Lahore	T.A.2/267, Arif. 72.
21	Mir Muhammad Khan Khan-i-Kalan	1564 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361.
22	Qutbuddin Khan	1564-65 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361-62.
23	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1565 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361-62.
24	Hasan Sufi Sultan	1565 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361-62.
25	Jan Muhammad Bahsudi	1565 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361-62.

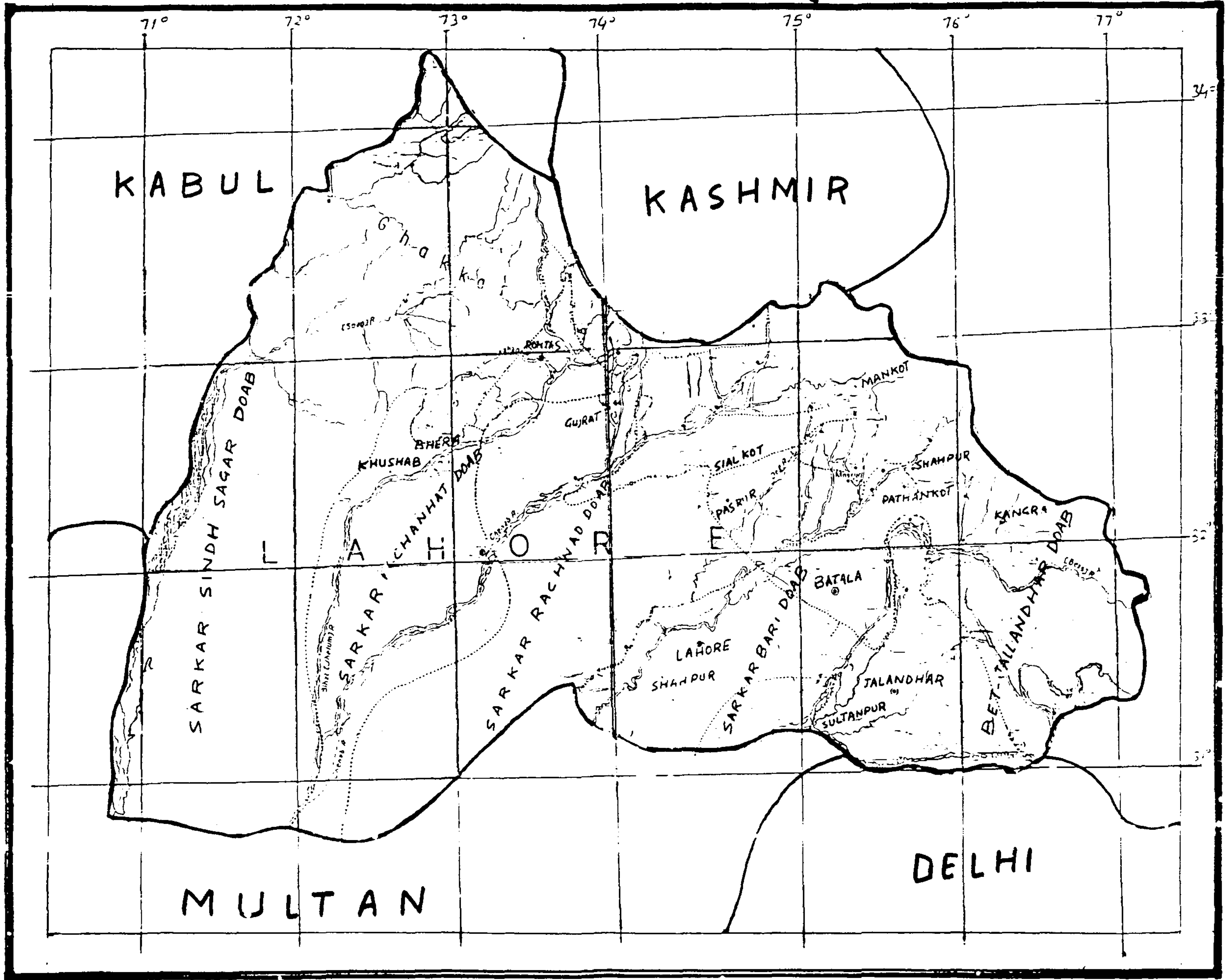
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	Kamal Khan Gakkhar	1565 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361-62.
27	Fazil Muhammad Khan	1565 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361-62.
28	Muhammad Quli Khan	1565 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.2/361-62.
29	Mir Muhammad Khan	1567 A.D.	Pargana	——	(Vilayat-I) Punjab	A.N.2/421-22, T.A.2/322.
30	Mir Muhammad Khan	1567 A.D.	Pargana	——	(Punjab)	A.N.2/421-22.
31	Qutbuddin Khan & their relations	1567 A.D.	Pargana	——	(Punjab)	——do——
32	Husain Quli Khan	1568 A.D.	——	——	(Vilayat-i-Punjab	M.U.T.2/109.
33	Ismail Quli Khan	1568 A.D.	——	——	Punjab	T.A.2/366.
34	Husain Quli Khan	1570 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	M.U.T.2/137, T.A. 2/396.
34	Husain Quli Khan	1571 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.2/529.
35	Raja Bir Bar	1573 A.D.	Nagarkot	(Bari Doab)	——	A.N.3/52, T.A. 2/398, M.U.T. 2/165.
36	Kunwar Man Singh	1573 A.D.	Kachiwara	——	——	A.N.3/62
38	Husain Quli Khan Khan-I-Jahan	1573 A.D.	——	——	Lahore	A.N.3/56, T.A.2/407, Arif. 163, M.U.T.2/164.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	Said Khan Chaghta	1573 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/61-62.
40	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1573 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/61-62.
41	Makhsus Khan	1573 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/61-62.
42	Husain Quli Khan	1571 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.2/529.
43	Khan-I-Jahan	1575 A.D	—	—	Lahore	M.U.T.2/220, T.A.2/218.
44	Bhagwan Das	1575 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	M.U.T.2/218.
45	Chaman Quli the Qush-begi	1578 A.D.	Thara/Pathaura	(Bari Doab)	—	Arif. 235.
46	Said Khan Chaghta	1578 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	M.U.T.2/261.
47	Raja Bhagwan Das	1578 A.D.	—	—	Punjab	A.N.3/380.
48	Jagan Nath	1578 A.D.	—	—	—	—do—
49	Raja Gopal	1578 A.D.	—	—	—	—do—
50	Jag Mal Panwar	1578 A.D.	—	—	—	—do—
51	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1580 A.D.	—	Sind Sagar Doab	—	A.N.3/493.
52	Man Singh	1580 A.D.	Sialkot	(Rechnao Doab)	—	A.N.3/493.
53	Man Singh	1580 A.D.	—	Sindu Sagar Doa	—	A.N.3/493.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54	Zainuddin Ali and others	1580 A.D.	Nilab	Sindu Sagar Doab	—	A.N.3/493.
55	Muhibb Ali Khan	1580 A.D.	Bhera, Rohtas	(Channat Doab) (Sind Sagar Doab)	—	A.N.3/475.
56	Sayyid Hamid Bukhari	1581 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/508,541
57	Khwaja Shamsudin Khafi	1581 A.D.	Fort Attack- -Banaras	Sindh Sagar Doa	Lahore	A.N.3/520.
58	Birbar	1581 A.D.	Desuya	Bet-Jalandhar Doab	—	A.N.3/511.
59	Raja Rai Singh	1581 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/546.
60	Muhammad Zaman	1581 A.D.	—	—	Punjab/Lahore	A.N.3/508.
61	Man Singh	1581 A.D.	Indus province	—	Punjab/Lahore	A.N.,3/508,54, T.A.2/544,584 -85,M.U.T.2/3
62	Bhagwan Das	1587 A.D.	—	—	Punjab	A.N.3/801.
63	Muhammad Sadiq Khan	1588 A.D.	Sialkot	(Rechnao Doab)	—	T.A.2/622, M.U.T.2/376.
64	Man Singh	1588 A.D.	Sialkot	(Rechnao Doab)	—	M.U.T.2/376.
65	Raja Todar Mal	1589 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/817.
66	Hamza Arab	1591 A.D.	Bhimbar	(Rechnao Doab)	—	A.N.3/908.
67	Zain Khan Koka	1591 A.D.	Badalgarh (Zainabad)	—	—	A.N.3/916.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
68	Shah Beg	1594 A.D.	Khusab	—	—	A.N.3/1000.
69	Salahuddin Bangu	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
70	S.Khubu	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
71	S.Kabir	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
72	Khawaja Muhibb Ali Khafi	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
73	Bhadur Khan qurdar	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
74	Mir Murad Sarmat	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
75	Takht Beg	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
76	Hakim Mozaffar	1594 A.D.	—	—	Lahore	A.N.3/998.
77	Mirza Rustam	1596 A.D.	Pathankot	(Bari Doab)	—	A.N.3/1060.
78	Mir Murad Sarmat	1597 A.D.	Bhimbar	(Rechnao Doab)	—	A.N.3/1082.
79	Abul Qasim Namkin	—	Bhera, Khushab, Gujrat	(Rechnao Doab)	—	A.A.1/525.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA LAHORE]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES – 79
SARKAR RACHNAO DOAB – 8 SARKAR BARI DOAB – 8
SARKAR CHANHAT DOAB – 3 JET-JALLANDHAR DOAB – 3
SARKAR SINDH SAGAR – 5
OTHERS: WHICH IS MENTONED SUBA – 52.

Table 3.5.11

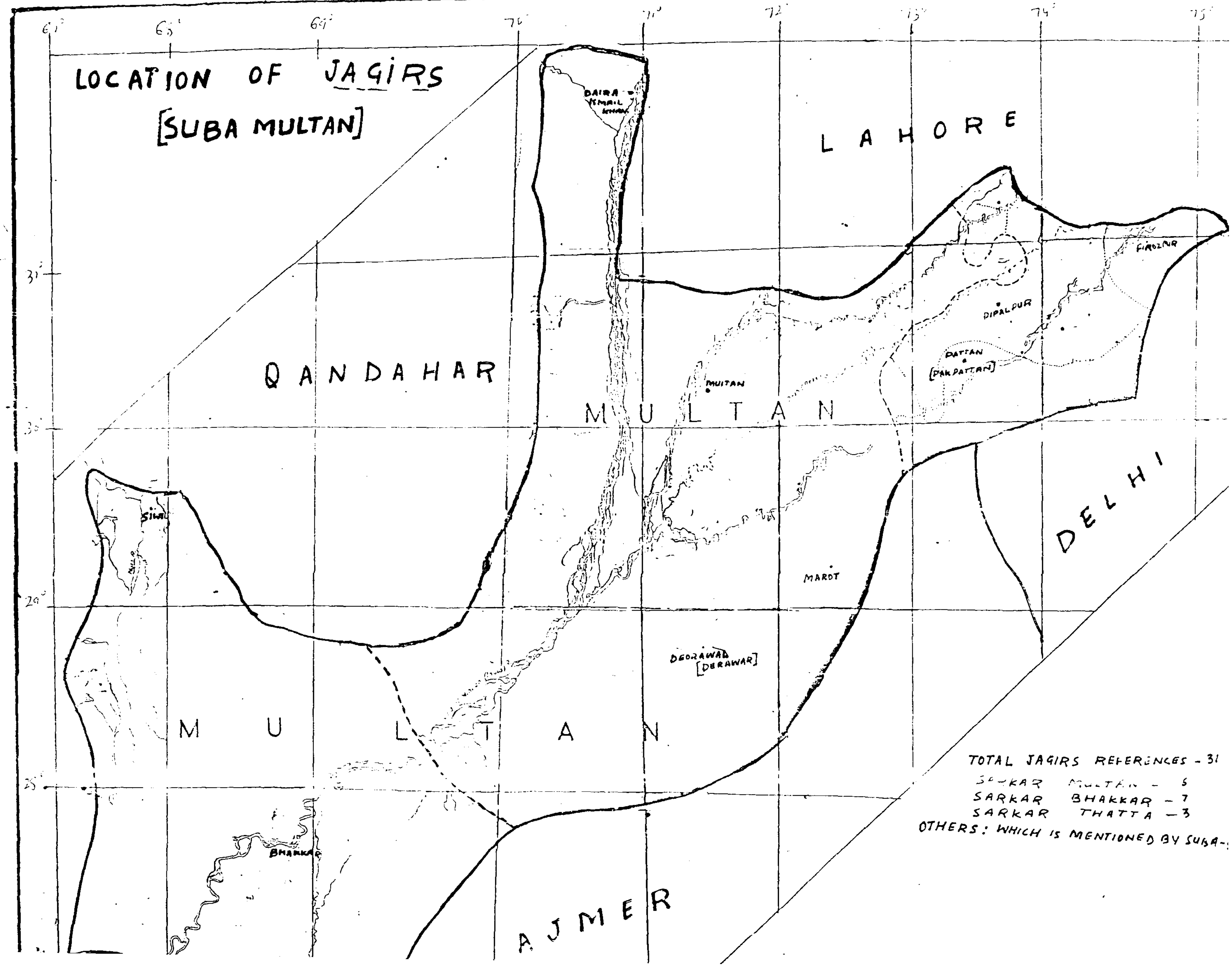
JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA MULTAN

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas	1557 A.D.	—	Multan	—	A.N.2/83-84.
2	Bahadur Khan Uzbek	1557 A.D.	—	Multan	—	A.N.2/83-84.
3	Bahadur Khan Uzbek	1559 A.D.	Dipalpur	Multan	—	A.N.2/155, M.U.T.2/4.
4	Durwesh Uzbek	1560 A.D.	Dipalpur	(Multan)	—	Arif. 61, Bayazid. 226.
5	Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas	1560 A.D.	—	—	Multan	A.N.2/175.
6	Muhammad Qasim Nishapuri and others	1560 A.D.	—	—	Multan	A.N.2/175.
7	Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka	1560 A.D.	Firozpur	(Multan)	—	A.N.2/185.
8	Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas	1563 A.D.	—	Multan	—	A.N.2/290.
9	Mirza Aziz Koka	1570 A.D.	Pak Pattan	(Multan)	—	M.U.T.2/137.
10	Mirza Aziz Koka Khan Aazam	1571 A.D.	Dipalpur	(Multan)	—	A.N.2/528, T.A.2/364.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Said Khan Mughal	1571 A.D.	—	Multan	—	M.U.T.2/138, T.A.2/367.
12	Muhibb Ali Khan	1571 A.D.	—	—	Multan	M.U.T.2/138, T.A.2/367.
13	Said Khan Chaghta	1573 A.D.	—	—	Multan	A.N.3/53, M.U.T.2/168.
14	Mir Gesu	1574 A.D.	Qila-I-Bhakkar	(Bhakkar)	—	T.A.2/457, Arif. 200.
15	Mir Sayyid Muhammad Mir-I-Adl.	1575 A.D.	—	Bhakkar	—	A.N.3/224.
16	Mir Sayyid Muhammad Mir-I-Adl.	1577 A.D.	—	Bhakkar	—	M.U.T.2/252.
17	Mir Sayyid Abul Fazl	1577 A.D.	Siwi	(Bhakkar)	—	M.U.T.2/252.
18	Sayyid Hamid Bokhari	1577 A.D.	—	—	Multan	A.N.3/300.
19	Sharif Khan	1581 A.D.	Firozpur	(Multan)	—	A.N.3/505.
20	Shah Mansur	1581 A.D.	Firozpur	(Multan)	—	M.U.T.2/301.
21	Pahar Khan Khasa Khail	1581 A.D.	Ghazipur Chakarhala	(Thatha)	—	A.N.3/544.
22	Muhammad Sadiq Khan	1585 A.D.	—	Multan	—	A.N.3/708,717 T.A.2/605, M.U.T.359.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
23	Muhibb Ali Khan		1589 A.D.	—	Multan	—	A.N.3/816-17.
23a	Abdur Rahim Mirza Khan		1591 A.D.	—	Multan	—	M.U.T.2/386, A.N.3/908,917 T.A.2/632.
24	Bakhtiyar Beg		1593 A.D.	Sewistan	(Thatha)	—	A.N.3/968,102
25	Mirza Sharukh		1593 A.D.	—	Thatha	—	A.N.3/978.
25a	Mirza Jani Beg		1593 A.D.	—	Multan Thatha	—	A.N.3/979,986 M.U.T.2/314, 399.
26	Bahuddin Bukhari		1594 A.D.	UC	(Bhakkar)	—	A.N.3/1021.
27	Mira Rustam		1594 A.D.	—	Multan	—	A.N.3/993, T.A.2/650.
28	Abul Qasim Namkin		1594-95 A.D.	—	Bhakkar	—	A.N.3/1021.
29	Abul Qasim Namkin		1598 A.D.	—	Bhakkar	—	A.N.3/1117.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA MULTAN]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES - 31
SARKAR MULTAN - 5
SARKAR BHAKKAR - 7
SARKAR THATTA - 3
OTHERS: WHICH IS MENTIONED BY SUBA-

TABLE 3.5.12

JAGIR ASSIGNMENTS IN SUBA MALWA

Sr. No.	Name of Assignee	Probable Year of Assignment	Pargana	Sarkar	Suba	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Pir Muhammad Khan	1561 A.D.	———	Mandu, Ujjain	———	A.N.2/214.
2	Qaya Khan Gung	1561 A.D.	———	Handia	———	A.N.2/214, T.A. 2/261.
3	Sadiq Khan	1561 A.D.	———	Mandasor	———	A.N.2/214.
4	Adham Khan	1561 A.D.	———	———	Malwa	A.N.2/214.
5	Adham Khan	1561 A.D.	———	Sarangpur	———	A.N.2/214.
6	Pir Muhammad Khan	1561 A.D.	———	———	Malwa	A.N.2/214.
7	Pir Muhammad Khan	1562 A.D.	———	———	Malwa	A.N.2/235, T.A. 2/260.
8	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	1562 A.D.	———	Mandu	———	A.N.2/260, T.A. 2/283.
9	Qaya Khan Gung	1562 A.D.	Pargana	———	Malwa	A.N.2/259.
10	Shah Muhammad Qalati	1562 A.D.	Pargana	———	Malwa	——do——
11	Habib Khan	1562 A.D.	Pargana	———	Malwa	——do——

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	1564 A.D.	Kara-Bhatta	(Garha-Katanga)	———	A.N.2/324, T.A.2/296,316
13	Muhammad Qasim Nishapuri	1564 A.D.	———	Sarangpur	———	A.N.2/345, T.A.2/283.
14	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	1564 A.D.	———	———	Vilayat-i Malwa-wa-Mandu	T.A.2/283, Arif.79-80.
15	Khan Quli	1564 A.D.	———	Handia	———	A.N. 2/351, T.A.2/285.
16	Muqarrab Khan	1564 A.D.	———	Handia	———	A.N. 2/351, T.A.2/285.
17	Qara Bahadur	1564 A.D.	———	Mandu	———	A.N. 2/253, T.A.2/285.
18	Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	1565 A.D.	———	Garha/Katanga	———	T.A.2/296,316
19	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	1566 A.D.	———	Garha	———	A.N.2/403.
20	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1566 A.D.	———	Garha	———	A.N.2/405.
21	Shah Quli Khan Naranji	1566 A.D.	———	Garha	———	A.N.2/406.
22	Kakar Ali Khan	1566 A.D.	———	Garha	———	M.U.T.2/87.
23	Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas	1567 A.D.	———	———	Malwa	A.N.2/415.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	khwaja Hadi	1567 A.D.	———	Ujjain	———	A.N. 2/415.
25	Qadam Khan	1567 A.D.	———	Handia	———	——do——
26	Muqarrab Khan	1567 A.D.	Satwas	(Handia)	———	——do——
27	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	1567 A.D.	———	———	Vilayat-1	A.N.2/462.
28	Shah Budagh Khan	1567 A.D.	———	———	Malwa	M.U.T.2/105.
29	Murad Khan	1567 A.D.	———	———	———	——do——
30	Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani	1567 A.D.	———	———	———	——do——
31	Asaf Khan	1567 A.D.	———	Gagraun	———	A.N.2/462.
32	Wazir Khan	1567 A.D.	———	Gagraun	———	A.N.2/462.
33	Abdul Mattalab Khan	1567 A.D.	———	———	Malwa	A.N.1/441.
34	Murad Khan	1568 A.D.	———	Ujjain	———	A.N.2/485, T.A.2/351.
35	Mirza Aziz Mashhadi	1568 A.D.	Pargana	(Ujjain)	———	T.A.2/351, M.U.T.2/110.
36	Shahbuddin Ahmad Khan	1569 A.D.	Sironj	(Chanderi)	———	M.U.T.2/110, T.A.2/351.
37	Shah Budagh Khan	1569 A.D.	———	Sarnagpur	———	M.U.T.2/110.

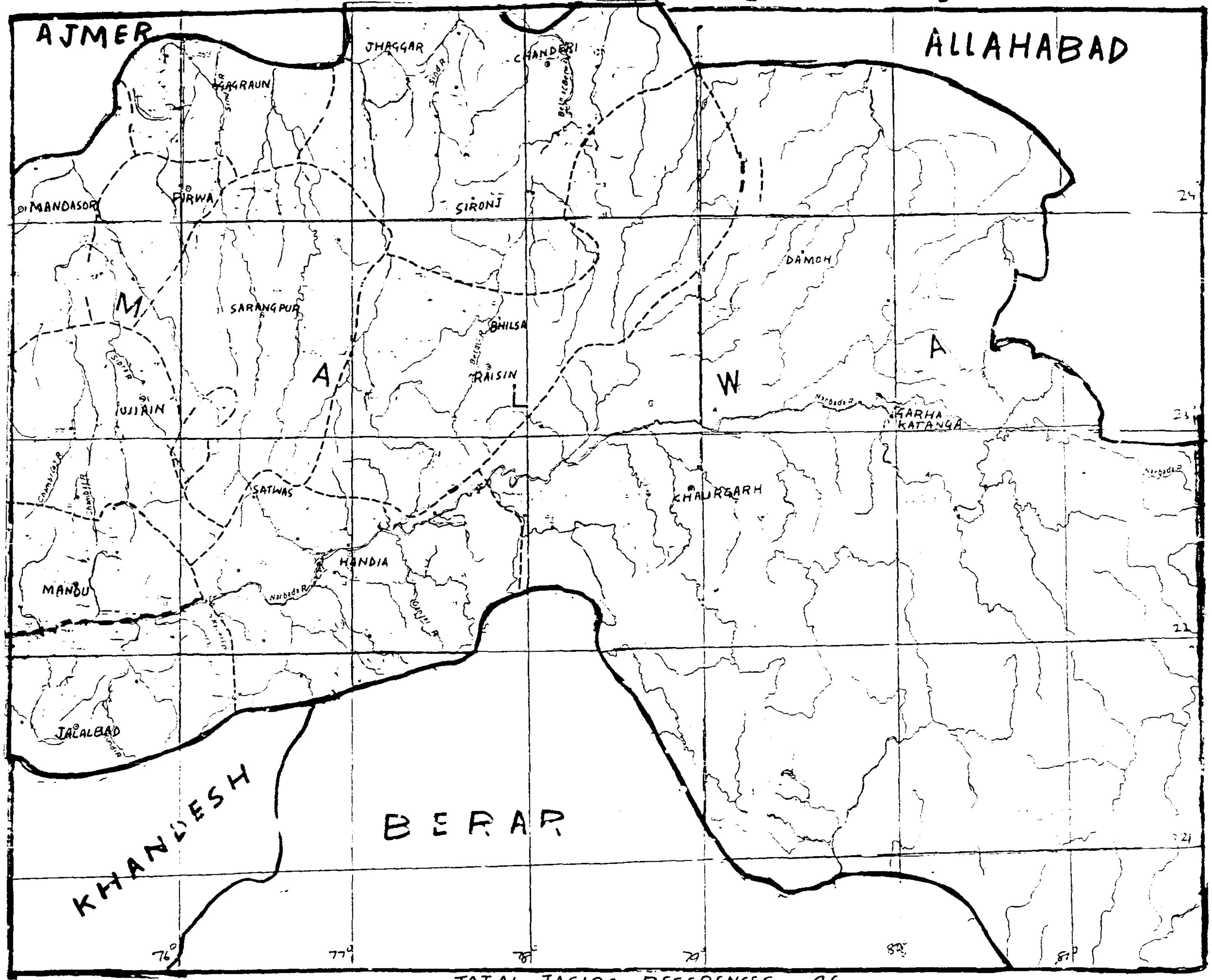
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38	Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan	1573 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/25.
39	Muzaffar Khan	1573 A.D.	Sultanpur	(Nandurbar)	————	A.N.3/47, Bayazid. 334.
40	*Raj Surjan*	1575 A.D.	————	Garha	————	A.N.3/223.
41	Sadiq Khan	1575 A.D.	————	Garha	————	A.N.3/223.
42	Bayazid Bayat	1576 A.D.	————	Ujjain	————	Bayazid. 353.
43	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	1577 A.D.	————	Sarangpur	Malwa	M.U.T.2/249.
44	Bayazid Bayat	1577 A.D.	————	Sarangpur	————	Bayazid. 353.
45	Shujaat Khan	1577 A.D.	————	Sarangpur	————	Bayazid. 353.
46	*Shah Fakruddin Khan*	1577 A.D.	————	Ujjain	————	Arif. 233.
47	Shah Budagh Khan	1577 A.D.	————	Mandu	————	Arif. 233.
48	Baz Bahadur S/O Sharif Khan	1578 A.D.	————	Nandurpur	————	T.A.2/501.
49	Shujaat Khan	1579 A.D.	————	Sarangpur	————	M.U.T.2/292.
50	Sharif Khan Atka	1579 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	M.U.T.2/293.
51	Sharif Khan	1580 A.D.	Pargana	————	Malwa	A.N.3/459, M.U.T.2/293.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52	Shaham Khan	1560 A.D.	————	Sarangpur	————	A.N.3/476.
53	Raja Rai Singh	1584 A.D.	————	Ujjain	————	T.A.2/585.
54	Naurang Khan	1584 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/657, T.A.2/571.
55	Tulak Khan Quichin	1584 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/657.
56	Rai Durga	1584 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	T.A./584-85.
57	Raja Askaran	1584 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	T.A./484-85.
58	Qulij Khan	1584 A.D.	————	Nadurbar	————	A.N.3/657,642
59	Muhammad Baqi Khan	1584 A.D.	Garha/Katanga	(Gara)	(Malwa)	M.U.T.2/351.
60	Susham Quli Turk	1584 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	T.A./584-85.
61	Shaikh Abdulla	1584 A.D.	————	Malwa	————	T.A./584-85.
62	Sharif Khan	1584 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/657, T.A.2/571.
63	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	1585 A.D.	————	Ujjain	————	T.A.2/585.
64	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	1587 A.D.	————	Raisin	————	M.U.T.2/372, A.N.3/739.
65	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	1589 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	T.A.2/629, A.N.3/865,77, 85.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66	Sahib Khan	1590 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	M.U.T.2/384.
67	Khan Azim	1590 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	M.U.T.2/383.
68	Muhibb Ali Khwafi	1590 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/891.
69	Jamaluddin Husain	1591 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/915.
70	Nazr Be and his son Qambar Be	1591 A.D.	————	Handia	————	A.N.3/915.
71	Ismail Quli Khan	1591 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/911.
72	Mukhtar Beg	1591 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/911.
73	Burham-ul-Mulk	1591 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/891.
74	Shah Murad	1591 A.D.	Govt. of Malwa & its neighbour	————	Malwa	T.A.2/633-36.
75	Shah Murad	1591 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/911,922
76	Khwaja Muhibb Ali Diwana	1591 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/915.
77	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	1593 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	T.A.2/649.
78	Mirza Rustam	1594 A.D.	Bhilsa	(Raisin)	————	A.N.3/1144.
79	Rai Raju	1594 A.D.	————	Handia	————	A.N. 3/1208.
80	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	1594 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/911.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
81	Abdur Rahim Mirza Khan	1595 A.D.	Bhilsa	(Raisin)	————	A.N.3/1045.
82	Hakim-An-ul-Mulk	1595 A.D.	————	Handia	————	A.N.3/886, M.U.T. 2/417.
83	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	1596 A.D.	————	Ujjain	————	A.N.3/1069, 1092.
84	Mirza Sharukh	1599 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/1120, M.U.T.2/401.
85	Mirza Rustam	1599 A.D.	————	Raisin & its territories	————	A.N.3/1120.
86	Mirza Sharukh	1602 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/1216, T.A.2/649.
87	Rai Raju	1602 A.D.	————	Garha	————	A.N.3/1208. 1211.
88	S. Abdur Rahman S/O Abul Fazl	1602 A.D.	————	————	Malwa	A.N.3/1233.

LOCATION OF JAGIRS [SUBA MALWA]



TOTAL JAGIRS REFERENCES - 96

SARKAR UJJAIN - 11	SARKAR GARHA - 11
SARKAR SARANGPUR - 10	SARKAR HANDIA - 7
SARKAR RAISIN - 6	SARKAR MANDU - 4
SARKAR NANDURBAD - 3	SARKAR GAGRAUN - 2

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CHAPTER-4

GROUP AND CLAN AFFILIATIONS OF JAGIRDARS

For such a complex task as that of the establishment of an effective administrative system and the maintenance of law and order in an extensive empire,[1] Akbar had been very successful in building up a centralized governmental structure. He had brought together a category of nobles or a ruling class which was entirely dependent upon him and was, therefore, unlikely to be openly rebellions except in a few instances. Akbar has been referred to by Abul Fazl as possessing a keen discerning power.[2] According to Abul Fazl, the emperor could by a simple glance ascertain whether or not a candidate merited selection.

4.1 GENERAL INTERPRETATIONS OF CLAN

Among the reasons for Akbar's success in evolving a strong class of nobles around him was that, he chose the right men for the right job. For example, Irani nobles were frequently assigned jobs in the revenue department and proved to be very efficient in that work. Similarly Hindu

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1. It was not difficult for Akbar to secure his ever extending territory from external invaders, but the establishment of absolute peace within the conquered dominion was a very different proposition. H.K.Naqvi, 'Incidents of Rebellions During the Reign of Akbar,' Medieval India: A Miscellany, 2(1972):152.

2. 'His Majesty Sees through some men at the first glance and confers upon them a high rank' Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:123.

nobles were also preferred for the revenue department. Rajputs were not given any other duty except military assignments, and the Turanis too were generally posted to military positions. Indian Muslims, apart from a few exception, did not it seems make much headway.

Athar Ali in his seminal work '<u>The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb</u>' has classified the Mughal nobles on the basis of their clan, religious and linguistic denomination. On this basis he has divided the nobility into Turanis, Iranis, Indian Muslims, Afghans, Rajputs and others. [3] While it may not be easy to accept clear-cut clan divisions on such a basis, for purposes of the present exercise it might serve some purpose if we accept these clan categories in a very broad sense. The existence of some general allegiance to a social group which may for lack of a more appropriate word be called 'clan' probably existed during this period. But even prior to the time of Aurangzeb the groupings of the nobility was continuously altering and developing. Amongst Babur's nobles[4] there were apparently only

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3. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.15.

4. For detail of Babur's nobility see, A.R.Khan, 'Babar's Settlement of His Conquests in Hindustan', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 25 (1965):209-10; Tej Ram, 'Babur's Relations with the Nohani and Farmuli Afghans', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress. 41(1980):227-36; Yog Raj Malhotra, Babur Nobility and Administration, (Jallandhar: ABS Publication, 1996).

Turanis, Iranis, Uzbek and even Afghans. Though the latter two were considered the chief enemies of the Mughals. Indian nobles, i.e. those who were the descendants of earlier immigrants from west and central Asia, or were Indian converts to Islam, seem also to have found employment at the Mughal court from the very beginning.[5] The composition of the nobility under Humayun was very similar to that of Babur's. When Humayun returned from Persia he tried to re-organise his nobility. He divided nobles into different categories on the basis of their profession; ahal-i-daulat, ahal-saadat and ahal-murad.[6] In the Baburi nobility the Turanis were the most dominant group, and during the early years of Humayun's rule their position remained very much the same. But when, he returned from Persia, the number of Irani nobles had increased. By the end of his reign Humayun (1555 A.D.) had fifty one nobles, out of which twenty-seven were Turanis, sixteen were Irani and eight were others.[7] The nobility which was inherited by Akbar from his ancestors was however, not particularly well

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5. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at Mughal Court, (Bombay: People Publishing House, 1972), p.XXIX.

6. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, 1:388-89; Ishwari Prasad, Humayun, (1955), pp.53-56.

7. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious policy 1556-1580', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1968):35.

organized. Akbar realised that in a country as diverse as India he could not bank solely on the whims of Turanis courtiers. He, therefore, threw open the royal services to the Rajputs, other Hindus, Indian Muslims, [8] Afghans and many other capable individuals. The credit of evolving an administratively homogeneous nobility out of the multiracial and religiously heterogeneous elements goes to Akbar. He aimed at welding together the various heterogeneous elements into an organised and harmonious whole, so that the jagirdars could become an efficient and dependable instrument of the royal will. Akbar seems to have desired that the various ethnic, national and religious groups in the nobility should be so balanced that the king did not become dependent on any section, and enjoyed the maximum freedom of action.[9]

A fairly large diversity of groups professing different faiths constituted the Mughal nobility under Akbar. The Mughal nobility, in its first phase of development during the reign of Babur and subsequently under Humayun and in the early years of Akbar, came to consist of certain well-recognised groups. There were the Turanis (associated with Central Asia), Irani (linked culturally with Persian), Afghans, Shaikhzadas (Indian

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8. (Mostly Shaikhzadas, the majority of whom belonged to the families living on madad-i-mash grants or enjoying zamindari rights).

9. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, p.XXX.

Muslims who consisted of numerous sub-groups) and the Rajputs who were also not a single unified clan. These groups of nobles even served dutifully under the leadership of nobles who were not always men of their own group. In keeping with the feudal culture of their times, they vied with each other in the battlefield to demonstrate both their valour and their loyalty to the emperor. It was also these very nobles who also were responsible for the overall administrative functioning of the empire. Undoubtedly there was a strong unifying force binding the diversity together. But the diversity was also capable to producing its own tensions. Mirza Hakim had pinned his hopes on these very tensions in 1581 A.D. He had expected that the Iranis and Turanis in Akbar's forces would come over to his side, while the Rajputs and Afghans would be slaughtered and the other Indians would be captured.[10] Akbar's policy of Sulh-i-Kul, it may be suggested, was partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs, and to prevent sectarian differences amongst them from interfering with their loyalty to the throne.

This must be kept in mind when we discuss the different groupings that were to be found amongst the

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10. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:537-38. The Mirza's advisers did not know, adds Abul Fazl, 'The extent of loyalty which the Turanis and Iranis felt for Akbar, nor how brave his Rajput and others Indians were?

Akbari nobles. Forces of both unification and disintegration operated simultaneously and much depended upon how the emperor handled the matter. It must also be mentioned that even though various groups existed, they were not always of a closely integrated nature within themselves. The exact nature of internal sub-groups within different sections of the nobility has not yet been studied in adequate detail. But it would be only proper not to over emphasize the 'separateness of these groups simply on the basis of a so-called 'racial or religious identity'.[11] It might, perhaps be more appropriate to regard it as the result of a common interest in which cultural, religious or regional affinities came to play an important role.

4.2 TURANIS

The majority of nobles at the court of Akbar were Turanis.[12] Turani was a term applied to any person coming

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11. A racial and religious classification has been elaborated by Rafi Ahmad Alavi, 'New Light on Mughal cavalry' Medieval India, A Miscellany, 2(1972):73

12. Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Elements in Akbar's Nobility' Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 36 (1975), 'Since the ruling family was of Turani orgins, the Turani nobles were large in number. For instance the Turani nobles who accompanied Babur to Hindustan were predominantly of Turani origin with the exception of a few individual of Khurasani and Persian Origin, who might have joined his service after the termination of Timuride rule in Hirat. It has been suggested that the position remained unchanged during reign of Humayun and the early

from north of Oxus (central Asia) where the Turkish language were spoken.[13] They belonged to the sunni sect that was more dominant in India. Since they were from the reigning dynasty they came to be regarded as their kith and kin. In the initial phase, atleast, it appears that for this reason they were particularly well treated by the Mughal rulers in India. The majority of the Turanis had been in the service of the Mughal rulers for generations. As a result they looked towards the Mughal Court for patronage. On their part the Mughal Emperors had a sense of gratitude toward the Turanis. Babur invited them to come and settle here. 'He sent letters in all directions saying we shall take into full favour all who enter our service and especially such as served our father, grandfather and ancestor. If such will come to us, they will receive fitting benefits, whoever there may be of the families of Sahib-i-Quran and Chingiz Khan, let them turn out to our court. The most high has given us sovereignty in Hindusian, let them come so that we may see prosperity together'. [14] Humayun, while planning the reconquest of India, invited a number of Turanis to join his ranks.

...Continued...

years of Akbar reign and the complexion of the nobility remained Turani.

13. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.18; R.P.Khosla, Administrative Structure of the Great Mughals, (Delhi: Kanti Publications, 1991), p.227.

14. Gulbandan Began, HumayunNama, pp.13-14.

Akbar also encouraged them to settle in India.[15] Once they joined the emperor's service, they made India their home, and hardly kept any contact with the land of their birth. One of the conditions of service was that they should bring their wives and children to the country. Since service generally lasted till death, there was no question of returning to the country of their birth after retirement. Shortly after succeeding to the throne, Akbar also decided to arrange for the return of royal ladies from Kabul. He sent nobles such as Muhammad Quli Barlas and Shammsuddin Muhammad Atka to carry out the order to that effect.[16]

Turanis had been in the thick of battles since the coronation day of Babur in Farghana. The adverse fortunes they suffered during the times of Babur and Humayun turned them into tough soldiers. They, were, therefore, spread out as jagirdars to effect further expansion which demanded energetic action. They were appointed governors to control provincial administration, to suppress rebellion and face other threats to the empire. Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Khan-i-Azam, Aziz Koka, Mirza

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15. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, pp.69-70. Commenting on the list of mansabdars in the Ain, Moreland says that just under 70 per cent of the nobles whose origin is known was foreigners belonging 'to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at the court after the accession of Akbar.'

16. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:30-31.

Sharukh, Yusuf Muhammad Khan, Adham Khan and Said Khan Chaghata were prominent Turani nobles whose military exploits are recorded in many Mughal chronicles.[17] These Turanis nobles were therefore, given important jagirs like Dipalpur, Hisar Firuza, Jaunpur, Delhi, Kalpi, Lahore and Multan.[18] In the beginning of Akbars reign, however, some Turani nobles resorted to rebellious activities and Akbar consequently threw wide open the royal service to other races and nationalities. Yet their dominance in the nobility persisted and they bagged most of the highest honours during Akbar's regime. In the year of 1555 A.D. there were twenty-seven nobles of Turani origin out of a total fifty-one, and their number was highest even in end of Akbar reign. In 1565-75 A.D. out of total 96 nobles of 500 zat and above 38 were Turanis. Their percentage goes on decreasing year by year. And in 1575-95 A.D. there were 184 mansabdar of 500 zat and above, out of which sixty-four were Turanis.[19]

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17. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:177.

18. See for detail in Column five of Table 4.2.1.

19. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility Under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy 1560-1580, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1968):35; M.Athar Ali, 'Presidential address' Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 33(1972) 'The mansabdars alive in 1595 of 500 zat and above were 98 out of which 33 were Turanis'.

TABLE-4.2.1

IMPORTANT TURANI JAGIRDARS

Sr. No.	Name of Jagirdars	Highest Rank	Other Family Member in service	Jagirs and its probable Year of Assignments	Source *
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Mirza Sharukh	7000/6000	-----	1593 A.D. Thatta (Multan) 1594-6 A.D. Ujjain (Malwa) 1602 A.D. Malwa	A.A.1/326-7, M.U.1/779-83, T.A.2/653-4.
2	Khan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka	7000/6000	Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atka (Father) Mir Muhammad (Uncle) Qutbuddin Khan (Uncle) Sharif Khan (Uncle) Yusuf Muhammad Khan (Brother) Mirza Shamsi, (son) Shadman, Mirza Khuram (son Mirza Abdulla (Son) Mirza Anwar (son)	1568 A.D. Dipalpur (Multan) 1570 A.D. Pak-Pattan (Multan) 1572 A.D. Ahmadabad (Gujarat) 1580-3 A.D. Hajipur (Bihar) 1583-4 A.D. Bengal 1589 A.D. Junagarh (Gujarat) 1595 A.D. Ghazipur (Bengal) 1595 A.D. Multan 1595-1605 A.D. Hajipur (Bihar)	T.A.2/655, A.A.1/343-47, M.U.1/348-50.
3	Munim Khan Khan-I-Khanan	5000	Ghani Khan (Son)	1556 A.D. Ghaznin (Kabul) 1560 A.D. Hisar firuza (Delhi) 1560-3 A.D. Shahpur (Lahore) Kalnaur (Lahore) Jallandhar (Lahore)	T.A.2/654, A.A.2/333-34, M.U.2/283-92.

* Source does not include the references for jagirs. It has already been given in Chapter No. 3.

1	2	3	4	5	6
				1563 A.D. Khairabad (Awadh) Inderi (Delhi) 1566-7 A.D. Jaunpur (Allahabad) Banaras (Allahabad) Ghazipur (Bengal) Chunar (Allahabad) 1572 A.D. Saron (Allahabad) 1574 A.D. Jaunpur (Allahabad) 1574 A.D. Parganas (Bengal) 1574-5 A.D. Patna (Bihar) 1575 A.D. Chunar (Allahabad)	
4	Tardi Beg Khan	5000	-----	1566 A.D. Delhi Mewat (Agra)	A.A.1/334-35, M.U.2/940-44, T.A.2/654.
5	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	5000	-----	1556-61 A.D. Kalpi (Agra) 1562 A.D. Mandu (Malwa) 1564 A.D. Malwa-wa--Mandu (Malwa)	T.A.2/659, A.A.1/337, M.U.1/82-84.
6	Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan	5000	Brothers and sons mentioned in NO.2	1560 A.D. Firozpur (Multan) 1560 A.D. Bhera (Lahore) Khushab (Lahore) 1561 A.D. Bari Doab (Lahore)	T.A.2/655, A.A.1/337-39, M.U.2/156-60.
7	Khan-I-Kalan Mir Muhammad	5000	Brothers and Nephew mentioned in No.-2 Fazil Khan (Son) Farrukh Khan (son)	1560 A.D. Lahore 1563-7 A.D. Punjab 1568 A.D. Sambhal (Delhi) 1570-72 A.D. Nagaur (Ajmer) Ajmer (Ajmer)	T.A.1/656, A.A.1/337-39, M.U.2/152-56.

1	2	3	4	5	6
				Jodhpur (Ajmer) 1573-75 A.D. Patan (Gujarat)	
8	Mirza Sharafuddin Husain	5000	------	1560 A.D. Nagaur (Ajmer) 1562 A.D. Ajmer	A.A.1/339-40, T.A.2/655, M.U.2/808-812
9	Yusuf Muhammad Khan	5000	Father, Uncle and Brother mentioned in NO-2.	Before 1567 A.D. Punjab	T.A.2/659, A.A.1/340, M.U.2/1007-9.
10	Adham Khan	5000	Baqi Khan (Brother)	1558 A.D. Hatkant (Agra) 1561 A.D. Sarangpur (Malwa) Malwa	T.A.2/665, A.A.1/340-42, M.U.1/45-48.
11	Said Khan Chaghta	5000	Makhsus Khan (Brother)	1571-73 A.D. Multan 1578 A.D. Lahore 1583 A.D. Sambhal (Delhi) 1583-5 A.D. Hajipur (Bihar) 1585-95 A.D. (Bengal) 1595 A.D. (Bihar) 1603 A.D. Multan Bhakkar	T.A.2/657, A.A.1/351-52, M.U.1/845-49.
12	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan	5000	-----	1560 A.D. Delhi 1568 A.D. Malwa 1568-9 A.D. Saronj (Malwa) 1577 A.D. Malwa Saranpur (Malwa)	T.A.2/657, A.N.1/352-53, M.U.2/846-49.

1	2	3	4	5	6
				1585 A.D. Ahmadabad (Gujarat)	
				1585 A.D. Ujjain (Malwa)	
				1586 A.D. Raisin (Malwa)	
				1589 A.D. (Malwa)	
13	Pir Muhammad Khan	5000	-----	1561-2 A.D. Malwa	T.A.2/658, A.A.1/342-43.
14	Qutbuddin Khan	5000	Brother and Nephew Mentioned in No.2	1563-67 A.D. Punjab	T.A.2/662,
			Nawrang Khan (Son)	1568-72 A.D. Malwa	A.A.1/353-54,
			Gujar Khan (son)	1573-77 A.D. Broach (Gujarat) Baroda (Gujarat)	M.U.2/545-48.
15	Muhammad Quli Khan	5000	Mirza Faridun	1557 A.D. Multan	T.A.2/657,
				1557 A.D. Nagaur (Ajmer)	A.A.1/364,
				1560-5 A.D. Multan	M.U.2/183-85.
				1567 A.D. Malwa	
				1567 A.D. Awadh	
				1574 A.D. Hajipur	
16	Khizr Khwaja *	5000	Sadat Khan (Son)	1557 A.D. Punjab	A.A.1/394, M.U.1/613-14, T.A.2/656.
17	Mirza Quli Khan	4000	Haydar (Brother)	-----	T.A.2/661.

* Abul Fazl has not entered Khizr Khwaja in his list of grandees.

1	2	3	4	5	6
18	Nawrang Khan	4000	Qutbudding Khan (Father) Gujar Khan (Brother)	1584 A.D. Malwa 1585 A.D. Gujarat 1593 A.D. Junagarh (Gujarat)	T.A.2/660, A.A.1/354.
19	Muhibb Ali Khan Rohtasi	4000	Habib Ali Khan (son)	1567 A.D. Manikpur (Allahabad) 1568-79 A.D. Rohtas (Bihar) 1585-8 A.D. Rohtas (Bihar)	T.A.2/666, A.A.1/466.
20	Mahdi Qasim Khan	4000	Husain Khan Turkiya (Son-in-law)	1556 A.D. Delhi 1563-65 A.D. Parganas (Panjab) 1566 A.D. Garha (Malwa) 1568 A.D. Lucknow (Awadh)	A.A.1/372-73, M.U.2/503-5, T.A.2/660.
21	Qulij Khan	4000	Mirza Saytullah (Son) Mirza Chin Qulij (Son)	1573 A.D. Qila-Surat (Gujarat) 1579 A.D. Surat (Gujarat) 1584 A.D. Nadarbar (Gujarat) 1585 A.D. Ahmadabad (Gujarat) 1589 A.D. Sambhal (Delhi) 1593 A.D. Surat Baroda (Gujarat) Baroach 1594 A.D. Jaunpur (Allahabad) 1596 A.D. Kabul	A.A.1/380-82, M.U.2/534-39, T.A.2/662.
22	Shah Quli Khan Mahram	3500	-----	1575 A.D. Panjab	T.A.2/663, A.A.1/387-88, M.U.2/774-76.

1	2	3	4	5	6
23	Iskandar Khan	3000	-----	1556 A.D. Agra 1556 A.D. Sialkot (Lahore) 1565 A.D. Awadh 1572 A.D. Lucknow (Awadh)	A.A.1/394-5, M.U.1/691-92, T.A.2/658.
24	Majnum Khan qaqshal	3000	Jabari (Son)	1556 A.D. Namaul (Agra) 1561 A.D. Parganas (Allahabad) Jaunpur and eastrn sarkars 1567 A.D. Manikpur (Allahabad) 1569 A.D. Kalinjar (Allahabad) 1574-5 A.D. Ghoraghat (Bengal)	T.A.2/668, A.A.1/399-400 M.U.2/39-41.
25	Muqim Khan Arab Shujaat Khan	3000	Qawin Khan (Son Muqim Khan (Son)	1563 A.D. Namaul (Agra) 1567 A.D. Qasba Etawah (Agra) 1573 A.D. Qila-Surat (Gujarat) 1577 A.D. Bihar 1577 A.D. Saranghpur (Malwa)	T.A2/659, A.A.1/400-402 M.U.2/650-53.
26	Shah Budagh Khan	3000	-----	1562 A.D. Ajmer 1565 A.D. Nimkhar (Awadh) 1567 A.D. Malwa 1568-9 A.D. Sarangpur (Malwa) 1557 A.D. Lahore 1577 A.D. Mandu (Malwa)	T.A.2/659, A.A.1/402, M.U.2/745-47.
27	Husain Khan Turkiya	3000	Mahdi Qasim Khan (his mothers brother)	1560 A.D. Inderi (Delhi) 1567-73 A.D. Patyali (Agra) Shamsabad 1568 A.D. Lucknow (Awadh)	T.A.2/670, A.A.1/402-4, M.U.1/644-5.

1	2	3	4	5	6
				1568 A.D. Kant Gola (Delhi) 1573-4 A.D. Kant Gola (Delhi)	
28	Murad Khan	3000	Yunan Beg (Brother)	1567 A.D. Malwa 1568 A.D. Ujjain (Malwa) 1580 A.D. Fatehabad (Bengal) 1581 A.D. Jaleasar (Orrisa)	T.A.2/660, A.A.1/404-5, M.U.2/170-71.
29	Shah Beg Khan	3000	------	1589 A.D. Begram (Kabul) 1594 A.D. Khusab (Lahore) 1602 A.D. Ghaznin (Kabul)	A.A.1/408-10, M.U.2/740-43.
30	Khan Alam Chalma Beg	3000	Muzaffar (Brother)	1574 A.D. Tirhut (Bihar)	A.N.1/412-13, M.U.2/511-14.
31	Baqi Khan	3000	Adham Khan (Brother)	1584 A.D. Garaha-Katanga (Malwa)	A.A.1/413-14.
32	Sharif Khan	3000	Brothers and Nephew mentioned in No-2 Baz-Bahadur (son)	1587 A.D. Panjab 1568 A.D. Kanauj (Agra) 1580-90 A.D. Malwa 1594 A.D. Ghaznin (Kabul)	A.A.1/415, M.U.2/177-78.
33	Ibrahim Khan Shaibani	2500	Khanzaman Ali Quli(Nephew Ismail Khan (Son)	1561 A.D. Sarharpur (Allahabad)	A.A.1/416-17, M.U.1/659-60.
34	Haider Muhammad Khan Akhta Begi	2500	Saidar Beg (son)	1556 A.D. Bayana (Agra) 1560 A.D. Kabul	A.A.1/418-21, M.U.1/705-8.

1	2	3	4	5	6
35	Payanda Khan Mughal	2500	Wali Beg (son)	1587 A.D. Ghoraghat (Bengal)	A.A.1/421, M.U.1/724-25.
36	Makhsus Khan	2500	Said Khan (Brother)	1573 A.D. Lahore 1591-92 A.D. Bengal	A.A.1/422, M.U.2/41-42.
37	Ismail Khan Dulday	2000	-----	-----	A.A.1/422-3, M.U.1/701.
38	Mir Babur	2000	-----	-----	A.A.1/423.
39	Abdullah Mughal	2000	-----	1560 A.D. Pathaura Thara (Lahore)	A.A.1/432.
40	Dastam Khan	2000	Sarmast Khan (son)	1577 A.D. Ranthambhor (Ajmer) 1579 A.D. Ajmer	A.A.1/435-36, M.U.1/457-58.
41	Darwish Muhammad Uzbek	2000	-----	1560 A.D. Dipalpur (Multan)	A.A.1/440-41.
42	Shaikh Ibrahim	2000	Shaikh Salim Shikirwal (Brother)	1574 A.D. Banaras (Allahabad)	A.A.1/441, M.U.1/653.
43	Abdul-Matalab Khan	2000	Shah Budagh Khan (Father)	1568 A.D. Malwa 1582 A.D. Kalpi (Agra)	A.A.1/441, M.U.1/705.
44	Itibar Khan Enunch	2000	-----	1558 A.D. Delhi	A.A.1/442, M.U.1/705.
45	Safdar Khan	2000	-----	-----	T.A.2/671.

1	2	3	4	5			6
46	Mirza Mirak Rizvi	2000	-----	1574 A.D.	Jaunpur	(Allahabad)	T.A.2/669.
47	Kakai Ali Khan Chisti	2000					
48	Tahir Khan	2000	Baqi Khan (Son)		----------------------		A.A.1/452-55.
49	Shaham Khan Jalair	2000	-----	1561 A.D.		Awadh	A.A.1/450-51, M.U.1/728-30.
				1565 A.D.	Jaunpur		
				1572 A.D.	Kalpi		
				1580 A.D.	Hajipur		
				1581 A.D.	Trihut		
50	Sultan Husain Khan jalair	-----	-----	1556 A.D.	Sandelah		
				1573 A.D.	Patiali		
51	Muhammad Khan Jalair	2000		1565 A.D.		Panjab	T.A.2/661.
52	Samanji Khan	1500 A.D.	Chalma Beg (Father)		Arrah	(Bihar)	A.A.1/458, M.U.2/703-4.
53	Tardi Khan	1500	Qiya Khan Gung (Father)	1593 A.D.	Patan	(Gujarat)	A.A.1/458, M.U.2/944.
54	Mihtar Khan (Khasa Khail)	2500	-----	1569 A.D.	Ranthambhor	(Ajmer)	A.A.1/459.
				1580 A.D.	Bahraich	(Awadh)	
55	Muhibb Ali Khan	1000	-----	1571 A.D.		Multan	A.A.1/463-5.
				1581 A.D.		Delhi	
				1589 A.D.		Multan	

1	2	3	4	5	6
56	Sultan Khwaja	1000 A.D.	Mir Khwaja (Son)	----------------------	A.A.1/466-67.
57	Khwaja Abdullah	1000	-----	----------------------	A.A.1/467.
58	Muinuddin Ahmad Khan		Masum Khan (Son) 1573 A.D	Sambhal (Delhi)	M.U.T.2/157-8, M.U.1/237.
59	Beg Muhammad Toqbai	1000	-----	----------------------	A.A.1/480-1, M.U.2/186.
60	Mihr Ali Khan Sildoz	1000	-----	Jaunpur (Allahabad) Chittor (Ajmer)	A.A.1/481, M.U.2/71-72.
61	Khwaja Ibrahim Badakshi	1000	-----	Sakit Agra	A.A.1/481.

4.3 IRANIS

The other prominent section of jagirdars during the reign of Akbar was that of the Iranis. The Iranis, also called Khurasanis and Iraqis, comprised the Persian speaking peoples from Herat upto Baghdad i.e. the inhabitants of the whole of the present day Persia and the persian speaking parts of Afghanistan and Iraq. They were fewer in number and many of them professed the Shia faith.[20] But they included among them many men of good birth who had been driven from their homes by political vicissitudes and had sought shelter in India. When Humayun ascended to the throne he elevated many Persians Qizilbashes (Iranis) to high positions. Their ability enabled them in some cases to attain the highest positions and many of the chief posts in the state were filled by them with distinction. Among the Irani jagirdars were Ali Quli Khan, Bahadur Khan, Bairam Khan, Mirza Rustam, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Husain Quli Khan and Zain Khan Koka. Jagirs which were assigned to them were Hajipur, Lahore, Awadh, Bengal, Malwa and Bihar.[21] Even Some of them like Bairam Khan and Ali Quli were also close to Humayun. When Ali Quli broke the news of his father's death to Humayun, the king embraced him and said 'Please God, I will in future

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20. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh 2:337.

21. For details See Column 5 of Table-4.3.1

be your father and will take care of you, be not afflicted but act as a man.'[22] Irani scholarship and culture had endeared them to Akbar, who conferred on them positions of considerable power and prestige.

During the early years of Akbar's rule some Iranis got significant positions and jagirs [23] in the state because of Bairam Khan,[24] who was the overall incharge of the administration during that period and patronized Iranis. He had ancestral ties with the Iranis and, therefore, preferred Iranis. A number of jagirdars who had made their mark in the reign of Akbar had served Bairam Khan[25] before his fall. Some Iranis chose to come to India when Shah Tahmasp was ruling in Iran. Either they had lost their hold in their respective area or did

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22. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 1:479.

23. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:163, 'That he (Bairam) on acccount of his relationship gave his own men a high position and cultivated land as Jagirs and satisfied other great Khans with waste lands. Akbarnama, 2,162; 'Bairam Khan raised several of his menial servants to the status of Khans and Sultans.'

24. Onkar Nath Upadhya, Hindu Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir, (Hindi), p.24.

25. For detail of nobles and servants under Bairam Khan See, Tazkira-i-Humayun wa Akbar, pp.4-7,35-36,52-53, 176-187; P.S.Bedi, The Mughal Nobility Under Akbar, (Jullandhar: ABS Publications, 1985), pp.169-70.

not feel secure.[26] On the other hand, Akbar's court promised them a bright career and a recognition of their talents. The enormous opportunities that existed in the rapidly expanding Mughal empire also attracted them towards it. Most Iranis came from Shiraz, Mashad, Turbat, Gilan, Qandahar and Hirat.[27] Though Irani nobles fought in numerous battles for the sake of the empire, they were probably more adept at handling financial matters. A few exceptions apart, the office of Wazir had almost always remained with them.[28] After the Turanis, it was probably the Iranis who contributed immensely to the establishment and development of the Mughal empire during Akbar's reign. The contribution of the Iranis was considerable and ranged from the battlefield to the Court. In terms of their occupying high offices and positions of influence they seem to have stood second' only to the Turanis. It, therefore would seem that the position of the Iranis did not decline even relatively under Akbar, inspite of heavy recruitment of other elements. In 1555 A.D. out of total

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26. Afzal Husain, Growth of Irani Elements in Akbar's Nobility, Proceeding of the Indiaan History Congress 36 (1975), 'Except those Irani nobles who were already in Mughal service a large number of Persians came to India in search of employment and were admitted to the nobility. One of the important factors of the migration from Iran was the unfavourable religious atmosphere in safavid Persia during the sixteenth century.'

27. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 1:364, 382.

28. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 1:595.

fifty one nobles, there were sixteen of Iranis. In 1565-75 A.D., out of total 96 nobles of 500 zat and above, thirty-seven were Iranis. And in 1575-95 A.D. there were 184 mansabdars of 500 zat and above, of which forty seven were Iranis.[29]

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29. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy 1556-1580' Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1968):35-36; M.Athar Ali, Presidential address, Proceedings of the Indian History Cognress, 33(1972), 'Out of 98 mansabdars of 500 zat and above which were alive in 1595, there were 23 Irani; Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani elements in Akbar Nobility', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress; 36,(1975), 'in 1555 out of 51 nobles 22 were Irani as Iqtidar show sixteen'.

Table 4.3.1

IMPORTANT IRANI JAGIRDARS

Sr. No.	Name of Jagirdars	Highest Rank	Other Family Member in Service	Jagire and its Probable Year of Assignments	Source
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Mirza Muzaffar Husain	5000	Mirza Abu Said (Brother) Mirza Sanjar (Brother) Mirza Rusain (Brother)	1595 A.D. Sambhal (Delhi)	A.A.1/327-28, M.U.2/48-57.
2	Mirza Rustam	5000	Brothers mention in No. 1	1594 A.D. Multan 1595 A.D. Pathan (Lahore) 1595 A.D. Bhilsa (Malwa) Raisin	A.A.1/329-9, T.A.2/654, M.U.1/369-78
3	Bairam Khan	5000	Abdur Rahim (Son)	1553 A.D. Sambhal (Delhi) 1556 A.D. Qandahar (Kabul) 1560 A.D. Alwar (Agra)	A.A.1/329-32, M.U.1/369-78, T.A.2/653.
4	Ali Quli Khan Khan-i-Zaman	5000	Bahadur Khan (Brother)	1558 A.D. Sambhal (Delhi) 1559 A.D. Lucknow (Awadh) 1559 A.D. Jaunpur (Allahabad) 1560 A.D. Jaunpur (Allahabad) Banaras Ghazipur 1561-4 A.D. Jaunpur (Allahabad) 1564 AQ.D. Bihar 1566 A.D. Karaha (Allahabad)	T.A.2/655, A.A.1/335-37, M.U.1/197-207

1	2	3	4	5			6
5	Bahadur Khan	5000	Ali Quli Khan (Brother)	1557 A.D.		Multan	T.A.2/656,
				1557 A.D.	Zamindwar		A.A.1/347,
				1559 A.D.	Dipalpur	(Multan)	M.U.1/349-50.
				1560-1 A.D.	Etawah	(Agra)	
				1561-6 A.D.	Banaras	(Allahabad)	
				1567 A.D.	Jaunpur		
					Banaras		
					Ghazipur		
					Chunar		
					Zamania		
6	Husain Quli Khan Khan-i-Jahan	5000	Ismail Quli Khan (Brother)	1563 A.D.	Hajipur		A.A.1/349-51,
			Riza Quli (Son)	1563 A.D.	Nagaur	(Ajmer)	M.U.1/645-49,
			Rahim Quli (Son)	1568 A.D.		Panjab	T.A.2/657.
				1570 A.D.		Lahore	
				1571-3 A.D.		Panjab	
				1575 A.D.		Bengal	
				1576 A.D.	Ghazipur	(Bengal)	
7	Mirza Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana	5000	Bairam Khan (Father)	1572 A.D.	Patan	(Gujarat)	A.A.1/354-61,
				1580 A.D.	Ranthambhor	(Ajmer)	M.U.2/49-57,
						Gujarat	T.A.2/654.
				1589 A.D.	Jaunpur	(Allahabad)	
				1591 A.D.		Multan	
						Bhakkar	
				1595 A.D.	Bhilsa	(Agra)	
8	Tarsan Khan	5000	Muhammad Khan (His Sister's Son)	1562 A.D.		Ajmer	A.A.1/364-5,
				1574 A.D.	Patan	(Gujarat)	M.U.1/944-48,
				1580 A.D.	Jaunpur	(Allahabad)	T.A.2/659.

1	2	3	4	5	6
				1582 A.D. Awadh	
				1584 A.D. Tardipur (Bengal)	
9	Qaya Khan Gung	5000	Tarqi Khan (Son)	1556 A.D. Kol-Wa-Jalali (Agra)	T.A.2/659,
				1556 A.D. Etawah (Agra)	A.A.1/366,
				1556 A.D. Agra	M.U.2/530-31.
				1560 A.D. Bahraich (Awadh)	
				1561 A.D. Handia (Malwa)	
				1562 A.D. Parganas (Malwa)	
				1574 A.D. Burdwan Bengal	
10	Zain Khan Koka	5000	Sayf Khan Koka (Brother)	1579 A.D. Etawah (Agra)	A.A.1/367-67,
			Shuhkrullah (Son)	1586-8 A.D. Kabul	T.A.2/659,
					M.U.2/1022-28
11	Mirza Yusuf Khan	4500	Mirza Lashkari (son)	1587 A.D. Kanauj (Agra)	A.A.1/369-72,
				1590 A.D. Lahore	M.U.2/1001-7,
				1591 A.D. Rohtas (Bihar)	T.A.2/662.
				1592 A.D. Kashmir	
				1593 A.D. Jaunpur (Allahabad)	
				1595 A.D. Gujarat	
12	Muzaffar Khan Turbati	4000	-----------	1575 A.D. Hajipur (Bihar)	A.A.1/373-75,
				Patna Bihar	M.U.2/359-64,
				Bengal	T.A.2/661.

1	2	3	4	5			6
13	Sayf Khan Koka	4000	Zain Khan Koka (Brother)	1575 A.D.	Ahmadabad	(Gujarat)	A.A.1/375-76,
			Sher Afkan (Son)				M.U.2/696-699
			Amanallah (Son)				
14	Muhammad Qasim Khan Nashap	-----		1558 A.D.	Nagaur	(Ajmer)	T.A.2/660,
				1560 A.D.			A.A.1/379,
				1564 A.D.			M.U.2/516.
15	Wazir Khan	4000	Adbul Majid Asaf Khan	1567 A.D.	Gagraun	(Malwa)	A.A.1/380-2,
			(Brother)	1577 A.D.	Idar	(Gujarat)	M.U.2/534-39,
				1581 A.D.	Bahraich	(Awadh)	T.A.2/660.
				1584 A.D.	Tanda	(Bengal)	
16	Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	3000	Wazir Khan (Brother)	1563 A.D.	Kara	(Allahabad)	T.A.2/658,
				1565 A.D.	Kara Bhatta	(Malwa)	A.A.1/395-99,
				1565 A.D.	Katanga	(Malwa)	M.U.1/36-40.
				1567 A.D.	Bayana		
					Bhasawar	(Agra)	
				1567 A.D.	Gagraun	(Malwa)	
					Wazrpur	(Allahabad)	
17	Sadiq Khan	4000	Zahid Khan (Son)	1561 A.D.	Mandasor	Malwa	A.A.1/382-4,
			Dost Muhammad (Son)	1573 A.D.	Sirohi	(Ajmer)	M.U.2/659-62.
			Yjar Muhammad (Son)	1575 A.D.	Garha	(Malwa)	
				1584 A.D.	Patna	(Bihar)	
				1585 A.D.	Bhakkar	(Multan)	
				1585 A.D.		Bengal	
				1594 A.D.	Surat	(Gujarat)	
					Baroch	(Gujarat)	
					Baroda	(Gujarat)	

1	2	3	4		5		6
18	Ismail Quli Khan	3500	Husain Quli Khan (Brother)	1568 A.D.		Punjab	A.A.1/388-9,
			Ibrahim Quli (Son)	1580 A.D.	Karid	(Allahabad)	M.U.1/703-4,
			Salim Khan (Son)	1586 A.D.		Kabul	T.A.2/663.
			Kharil Quli (Son)	1588 A.D.		Gujarat	
				1591 A.D.		Malwa	
				1595 A.D.	Kalpi	(Agra)	
19	Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani	3000	-------------	1568 A.D.	Mandu	Malwa	T.A.2/676, A.A.1/405-8, M.U.1/167-169
20	Afzal Khan	3000	-------------	----------	---------	--------	A.A.1/408, M.U.1/141-49.
21	Qasim Khan	3000	Abul Muzaffar (Brother)	1578 A.D.		(Agra)	A.A.1/412-13,
			Hasnim Beg (Son)	1589 A.D.		(Kabul)	M.U.2/511-14.
22	Mirza Muizul Mulk	3000	Mir Akbar Ali (Brother)	1577 A.D.		(Bihar)	A.A.1/414-15,
				1580 A.D.	Arrah	(Bihar)	M.U.2/238-40.
23	Mir Akbar Ali		Mirza Mul Zul Mulk (Brother)	1580 A.D.	Arrah	(Bihar)	----------
24	Khwaja Jalaludin Bujaq	2500	-----------	1557 A.D.	Ghaznin	(Kabul)	A.A.1/417, M.U.1/740-1.
25	Ashraf Jalaludin Mir Munshi	2000	Mir Abul Muzaffar (Son)	1574 A.D.		Bengal	A.A.1/423-4, M.U.1/301-2.

1	2	3	4	5	6
26	Lashkar Khan	2000	-----------	-------------------------	A.A.1/446-7, M.U.1/830-1.
27	Shah Muhammad Khan Qalati	2000	Adil Khan (Son)	1562 A.D. Parganas (Malwa)	A.A.1/448-9, M.U.1/756-64.
28	Asaf Khan s/o Badiuz-zaman	2000	-----------	1588 A.D. Sawad (Kabul) 1594 A.D. Kashmir (Kabul) 1595 A.D. Gujarat 1596 A.D. Bihar	A.A.1/451-54, M.U.1/382-87.
29	Khwaja Jahan Amina	1000	-----------	1574 A.D. Allahabad 1575 A.D. Lucknow (Awadh)	A.A.1/467-8, M.U.1/823-4.
30	Tatar Khan	1000	-----------	1563 A.D. Delhi	A.A.1/468, M.U.2/949-50.
31	Hakim Abul Fath	1000	Hakim Human (Brother) Hakim Nuruddin (Brother)	1579 A.D. Bengal	A.A.1/468-9, M.U.1/108-10.
32	Mujahid Khan	1000		1577 A.D. Islampur (Ajmer)	T.A.2/677.
33	Asadullah Khan	1000		1566 A.D. Zamaya (Allahabad) 1567 A.D. Sultanpur (Awadh)	A.A.1/471-72.

4.4 AFGHANS

The Afghans[30] came from the region between the Indus on the east, and Kabul and Qandahar on the west. They cannot properly be regarded as foreign immigrants because their homelands lay within the Mughal empire. During the time of the Delhi Sultans, the Afghans had been looked upon with contempt as being simply robbers and plunderers. With the establishment of the Lodhi Kingdom, they became very much a part of the governing class. When their kingdom was overthrown by Babur, some of them made their peace with the conqueror. The short lived sur empire followed by the Mughal restoration, made the Afghans chiefs suspects in the eyes of the Mughals, and Akbar seems to have kept most of them at arms length. It is worth noting that Akbar did not enlist Afghans in very large numbers to the _mansabdari_ system. This may, at least partly, be explained by the bitter experience in the past few decades that his house had to suffer at their hands.[31]

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30. For details regarding the Afghans nobles see Rita Joshi, _The Afghan Nobility and the Mughals 1526-1707_ (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1985); I.A. Khan, Mughal Afghan Relation', _Proceeding of the Indian History Congress'_, 24 (1961)

31. Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, 'Incidents of Rebellion During the Reign of Emperor Akbar' _Medieval India: A Miscellany_, 2(1972): 159.

Afghan chiefs who had earlier enjoyed positions of power and prestige could have not easily reconciled themselves to the change. they were, moreover accustomed to a life of restlessness and often engaged in feuds. The loss of sovereignty in India to the Mughal must have been particularly galding to them. In the opinion of one historian A. Rahim, 'in the reign of Akbar (1556-1605) the relations between the Afghans and Mughals may be summed up as one of hostility'.[32] There were not very many Afghans nobles during the reign of Akbar, who were allotted *jagirs* of any significance.[33] Noteworthy among those who were granted such *jagirs* were Kamal Khan Gakkhar, Sikandar Sur, Jamal Khan, Fathu Khan Afghan, Sher Khan and Taj Khan. Moreover, while conferring *jagirs* upon the Afghan nobles Akbar was rather cautious. Firstly, the assignee was never given a *jagir* near his home. Secondly, he was transferred from one place to another and prevented from

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32. Dr.A.Rahim, 'The Position of the Afghans Under the Mughals 1526-1605' *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, (1958):126.

33. 'The Mughals Emperor also considered the Afghan as socially backward. As other clan made marriage alliance with Mughal Emperor, " by which they also gained *mansabs*, assignment of *jagirs* and special status at the court". Even they were not considered fit for marriage alliance. During Akbar reign out of forty Royal marriage alliance, we could not trace even a single marriage alliance with Afghans. Afzal Husain, 'Marriages Among Mughal Nobles As an index of Status and Aristocratic Integration' *Proceeding of the Indian History Congress*" 33(1972):304, 310.

developing deep rooted local interests.[34] However, it may be admitted that after considerably curbing the rebels of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in very exceptional circumstances Akbar started assigning jagirs to Afghan nobles in their own regions. But quite often the assignees were deprived of their jagirs or were recalled.[35] Some of the jagirs held by Afghan nobles in Akbar's reign were, Fatehbad ,Tajpur, Gaur, Bihar, Khalifabad and in Orissa.[36] In 1595 A.D. these were 98 mansabadars of the rank of 500 zat and above who were alive out of these only two were Afghans.[37]

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34. Rita Joshi, The Afghans Nobility and the Mughals, (1526-1707), p.189.

35. As evident from the case of Afghan assignee in Orissa (1592-3), Akbarnama, 2:931-32.

36. See for detail Column five of Table.4.4.1.

37. M.Athar Ali, 'Presidential Address', Proceedings of the Indian History Congress", 33(1972).

TABLE-4.4.1

IMPORTANT AFGHAN JAGIRDARS

Sr. No.	Name of Jagirdars	Highest Rank	Other Family Member in Service	Jagirs and its Probable Year of Assignments	Sourse
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Kamal Khan Gakkhar	5000	Mubarik Khan (Son)	1559 A.D. Fatehpur, Haswa, Karah. (Allahabad)	T.A.2/664, M.U.1/758-60, A.A.1/507.
2	Fatu Khan Afghan	2000	Rahmat Khan (Son)	1563 A.D. Lahore	A.A.1/508.
3	Baz Bahdur	2000	--------	-------- ------------------------	T.A.2/670, A.A.1/283.
4	Bahar Khan Muhammad Asghar	2000	--------	-------- ------------------------	A.A.1/444-5.
5	Daulat Khan Lodhi	2000	--------	-------- ------------------------	T.A.2/667.
6	Rahmat Khan	2000	Fattu Khan (Father)	-------- ------------------------	T.A.2/564.
7	Said Khan Gakkhar	1500	--------	1583 A.D. Hajipur (Bihar)	T.A.2/670.
8	Salim Khan Gakkhar	1500	--------	1574 A.D. Tajpur	A.A.1/482, A.A.3/625.
9	Jamal Khan	1500	--------	1558 A.D. Five paraganas of chunar	M.U.T.2/26.

1	2	3	4	5	6
10	Sikander Sur	1000	--------	1557 A.D. Kharid (Jaunpur) Gaur Bihar	M.U.T.2/12.
11	Shaikh Jamal Bakhtiyar	1000	--------	Chandwar Jalesar	M.U.T.2/12.
12	Sulaiman Mankali Khan	1000	--------	1572 A.D. Ghoraghat	A.A.1/400.
13	Daud Khan	1000	--------	Same estate of Orissa *	A.N.3/185.
14	Nazr Be	1000	--------	1591 A.D. Handia	A.N.3/915.
15	Mubarak Khan	900	Kamal Khan (Fahter)	Kashmir	A.A.1/508.
16	Babu ManKali	700	--------	Bengal	A.A.1/528.
17	Qutlu Khan	----------	--------	1586 A.D. Orrisa	M.U.T.2/333, A.N.3/835.
18	Ghazi Tribe	----------	--------	1571 A.D. Jalalabad	A.N.3/792.
19	Haibat Khan	----------	--------	1592 A.D. Khalifabad	A.N.3/968.
20	Sher Khan	----------	--------	1592 A.D. Orrisa Khalifabad	A.N.3/968.

* Nizamuddin & Elliot, Vol. 5, 390. The whole area of Orissa conferred upon Daud.

1	2	3	4	5		6
21	Khwaja Usman	----------	--------	1592 A.D. 1594 A.D.	Khalifabad Orissa East Bengal	A.N.3/969.
22	Taj Khan s/o Daulat Khan	----------	Jamil Beg (Son)	1593 A.D.	Gujarat Punjab	A.A.1/508, M.D.(H).2/20.
23	Miyan Khan	----------	Taj Khan (Brother)	1544 A.D.	Gujarat	M.D.(H).2/20.
24	Usman Lahori	----------	--------	________	Jagirdar	A.A.1/596.

4.5 RAJPUTS

Differences of religion did not prevent Akbar from including a fairly large number of Hindus in the mansabdari and jagirdari systems. The emperor constantly received the co-operation of nobles professing different religious faiths. The Rajputs and other Hindus continued to give their unstinted support because their religious susceptibilities were always cared for and never allowed to became a liability. The old Rajput ruling class had for centuries, prior to the establishment of Muslim rule in Delhi been able to retain for itself a position of dominance. Even subsequently its influence in many parts of India persisted even though the possibility of the creation of a Rajput empire vanished with the defeat of Rana Sanga at the battle of Khanwa in 1527 A.D. Thereafter Sher Shah Suri struck a severe blow to what remained of Rajput power.

When Akbar occupied the throne the Rajputs did not possess enough strength to offer any serious opposition. It was the reality of this situation that may have obliged some of them to seek friendship with the Mughal emperor. The entry of the Rajputs into imperial service may as a result have changed, the course of medieval Indian History. The inclusion of an indigenous nobility in Mughal service was of considerable importance in building up a strong Mughal state. Akbar on his part

offered them full opportunities and freedom from discrimination. He often entrusted them with a number of prestigious and responsible appointments.[38]

Being wary of the fact that the Turanis and Iranis could be a source of trouble, Akbar attempted to arrive at a balance.[39] He probably, could not have found a better source of support for this purpose than the Rajputs. In fact Fedrick Augustus goes so far as to say that 'Bitter experience had taught him (Akbar) that no reliance could be placed upon Muslim nobility nor yet upon his own kinsmen, he was driven to look elsewhere for stable and trustworthy support against faithless relatives and co-religionists and this only the Hindu native of country could guarantee.[40] By incorporating the traditional ruling group, the Rajputs into the newly created Mughal administrative system. Akbar was in some manner able to efface the foreign nature of the Mughal empire which had on some occasions in the past roused the hostility among

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38. 'Recrruitment of the Rajputs in Mughal Service commenced soon after Akbar assumption of the direction of the State' Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy' Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1968):31.

39. H.K.Naqvi, Incidents of Rebellions during the Reign of Akbar, Medieval India-:A Miscellany, 2(1972):154.

40. Federick Augustus, The Emperor Akbar, 2 vols. Translated by Annette S Beveridge, (PATNA: ACADEMICA ASIATICA 1973), 1:142-43.

the older ruling classes of India. The Rajput nobles, who had over a long period acquired a reputation for courage and bravery, were usually entrusted with duty of doing service in the battlefield. Akbar had full faith in them. Akbar reportedly praised the loyalty of the Rajputs which often found its logical conclusion in sati. He specifically mentions their willingness to sacrifices life, reputation and religion.[41]

The services of Rajput officials were also utilized for negotiations with Rajputs chiefs who had refused to surrender. The emperors trust in the Rajput nobles is evident from the fact that he did not hesitate to send military expeditions under them against other Rajput chiefs. Among the better known and highly placed Rajput nobles during this period may be counted Raja Bihari Mal, Bhagwan Dass and Raja Man Singh. The Raja Man Singh enjoyed an extremely high position at the Mughal court. Akbar awarded the unprecedented mansab rank of 7000/6000 zat to Man Singh for his service to the empire.[42] The emperor also addressed him as farzand (son), a rare distinction indeed.

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41. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:371.

42. S.M.Jaffar, The Mughal Empire from Akbar to Aurgangzeb, (Delhi: ESS ESS Publishing, 1974), p.159.

Besides the Rajaputs there was also a smaller number of other Hindu nobles who were permitted entry into the royal service due to Akbar's liberal, religious outlook. Badaoni, while referring to the entry of Raja Birbal into the Mughal court, observed, 'The emperor from youth up had shown special predilection and inclination for the society of various sects such as Brahamins and musicians and other kinds of Hindu'.[43] The general treatment that the Hindu nobles received at the hands of Akbar enabled many of them to rise rapidly in the imperial service. Their administrative ability and loyalty won for them the admiration and trust of Akbar. The elevation of Hindus to positions of influence in the Mughal court was not always to the liking of the Muslim nobles.[44] Among the Hindu nobles of Akbar, Todar Mal can certainly be ranked as among the best of Akbar's nobles. He played a multifaceted role and the range his activities can hardly be overstated. Irrespective of the task, civil administration or military affairs that was assigned to him, he was never found lacking in genius. Raja Birbal was another Hindu noble who enjoyed an important position at the imperial court. He familiarized Akbar with the essentials of Hinduism.[45] Another Hindu noble Raja Patar

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43. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:164.

44. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:65.

45. Abul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:268-69.

Dass, was raised to the office of wazir.[46] There were therefore, several Hindu nobles who enjoyed very significant positions even though their number was by no means very large. We could trace very few noteworthy Rajput and Hindu nobles under Akbar who received their pay in the form of jagirs. They were Bhagwan Dass, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Birbal, Patar Dass, Rai Rai Singh, Jaganath, Suraj Singh, Rai Surjan and Udai Singh.[47] They held jagir in Lahore, Bihar, Allahabad, Malwa and especially in Ajmer. In 1565-75 A.D. out of 96 mansabdars of 500 zat and above there were only eight of Rajput origin. In later years there strength increased. In 1580 A.D. out of

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46. Abdul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1108, Sri Ram Sharma , The Religious Policy of Mughal Emperors (New Delhi: S.Chand, 1967), p.28; commenting on Hindu Position under Akbar said that "In Ain there were 137 nobles of 1000 zat and above, of which 14 were Hindu and there were 415 nobles of the rank of 200 zat and above. Out of which 51 were Hindu. The percentage of Hindu nobility under Akbar were more than the commissioned officers in Indian Army before second world war. Akbar appointed four Hindu governor of his fifty years reign whereas Britishers appointed only one Hindu till 1937. In 1594-5 Akbar appointed twelve provincial Finance Minister (Diwan) out of which Eight were Hindus. Akbarnama, 3:1029, Britishers could not appoint any HIndu in high post of vicegerent and Finance minister like Todar Mal even ful of their reign."

47. C.M.Aggarwal, Akbar and His Hindu Officers, (Jalandhar: ABS Publications, 1986), p.135.

272 mansabdars 43 were Rajputs, and in 1575-95 A.D. out of 184 mansabdars there were 30 Rajputs.[48]

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48. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility Under Akbar and Development of His Religious Policy (1560-80), Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1968):31-36, Athar Ali 'Presidential Address', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress 33 (1972). He said that out of 98 mansabdars in 1595 who were alive, there were 21 Rajput and one Hindu.

TABLE-4.5.1

IMPORTANT HINDU AND RAJPUT JAGIRDARS

Sr. No.	Name of Jagirdars	Highest Rank	Other Family Member in Service	Jagire and its Probable Year of Assignments	Sourse
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Raja Bihari Mal (Rajput)	5000	Puranmal (Brother) Rupsi (Brother) Askaran (Brother) Jagmal (Brother) Bhagwan (Son) Jagannath (Son) Salhadi (Son)	Watan Amber	A.A.1/347-48, M.U.1/409-11, T.A.2/658.
2	Raja Bhagwan Dass (Rajput)	5000	Bihari Mal (Father) Man Singh (Son) Madhu Singh (Son) Pratap Singh (Son)	1575-8 A.D. Lahore 1587 A.D. Lahore 1587 A.D. Bihar 1589 A.D. Rohtas (Bihar)	T.A.2/658, A.A.1/353, M.U.1/404-5.
3	Raja Bikramjit Rai PatrDas (Hindu)	5000		1579 A.D. Bengal 1585 A.D. Bihar 1599 A.D. Bandu (Gujarat)	A.A.1/523-24 A.A.1/523-24.
4	Raja Todar Mal (Hindu)	4000	Dharu (Son)	1589 A.D. Lahore 1604 A.D. Kalinjar (Allahabad)	A.A.1/376-9 M.U.2/551-57, T.A.2/660.
5	Rai Rai Singh (Rajput)	4000	Kalyan Mal (Father) Dalpatr (Son)	Niryad Shamshabad Nurpur Pannah	T.A.2/663, A.A.1/384-86, M.U.2/568-71.

1	2	3	4	5			6
					Bandu Sortha Sojat Merta		
				1584 A.D. 1593 A.D.	Ujjain Junagarh	(Malwa) Gujarat	
6	Raja Askaran (Rajput)	3000	---------------	1578 A.D. 1584 A.D.		Lahore Malwa	T.A.2/668.
7	Jagannath (Rajput)	2500	Biharimal (Father)	1578 A.D. 1595 A.D.	 Ranthambhor	Lahore	A.A.1/421-22, M.U.1/724-25.
8	Raja Gopal (Rajput)	2000	-----------------	1578 A.D.		Lahore	
9	Raja Khangar (Rajput)	2000	Jagmal (Father)				
10	Raja Birbal (Hindu)	2000	Lala (Son)	1573 A.D. 1581 A.D. 1582 A.D. 1582 A.D.	Nagarkot Desuya Kora Kalinjar	(Lahore) (Lahore) (Allahabad) (Allahabad)	T.A.2/669 A.A.1/442-44, M.U.1/420-3.
11	Ram Chand Beghela (Rajput)	2000	-----------------	1569 A.D. 1584 A.D.	Arail Ajmer	(Allahabad) (Allahabad)	A.A.445-46, M.U.2/581-84.
12	Rai Kalyan Mal (Rajput)	2000	Rai Rai Singh (Son)	------------------------------			A.A.1/448.

1	2	3	4	5		6
13	Rai Surjan Hada (Rajput)	2000	Ray Bhoj (Son)	1574 A.D. 1575 A.D. 1580 A.D.	Garh-Katanga Chunnar Allahabad	A.A.1/449-50, M.U.2/917-19.
14	Rai Durga (Rajput)	1500		1584 A.D. 1584-5 A.D.	Malwa Ajmer	A.A.1/457-60
15	Madhu Singh (Rajput)	1500	Bhagwan Das (Father)	----------		A.A.1/460, M.U.2/34.
16	Rai Sal Darbari (Rajput)	1250			Rewasa (Ajmer) Kauali (Ajmer) Khandela (Ajmer) Udaipur (Ajmer)	A.A.1/462-63, M.U.2/565.
17	Rupsi Bairagi (Rajput)	1000	Bihari Mal (Brother) Jaymal (Son)	----------		A.A.1/472, M.U.1/617-19.
18	Udai Singh (Rajput)	1000		1584 A.D.	Ajmer Siwana Sojat Satalmer Pokhran	A.A.1/474-75
19	Jag Mal (Rajput)	1000	Bihari Mal (Brother) Khangar (Son)	1563 A.D. 1578 A.D. 1604 A.D. 1583 A.D.	Merta (Ajmer) Lahore (Lahore) Allahabad Sirohi (Ajmer)	A.A.1/483, M.U.1/727.
20	Raja Jagat Singh (Rajput)	900	Man Singh (Father)	1594 A.D.	Bengal	A.A.1/495-6.

4.6 INDIAN MUSLIMS

This class of nobles, it seems, was made up of those born in India. They were in some instances the descendants of foreign immigrants of the second or third generation. [49] They have been referred to as Shaikhs and Sayyids. Among the group of nobles the Sayyids of Barha and Kambus held leading position under Akbar.[50] The presence of Shaikhzadas in Akbars service can be traced as far back as 1561 A.D.[51] The Indian Muslims belonged to different parts of India. While some of them professed the Sunni faith, others believed in Shiaism. Included in this categories of Indian Muslims, were persons such as Abul Fazl, who was known for his liberal outlook. Shahbaz Khan Kambu, Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari and Sheikh Farid Bukhari were some of the other prominent names amongst the Indian Muslims. Between 1575-1595 A.D., out of 184 mansabdars of 500 zat there were 34 Indian Muslims, from 1595-1605 A.D. out of 266 mansabdars above the rank of 500 zat, 48 were Indian

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49. Yusuf Husain, Medieval India Culture, p.127.

50. M.Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.21.

51. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility Under Akbar and The development of his Religious Policy', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1968):31.

Muslim.[52] It may be mentioned, however that barring Abul Fazl and Shahbaz Khan Kambu, not many of them were able to advance to a position of very great influence during the reign of Akbar. Most of the others served in low posts or in the ranks in battles, where they generally excelled. The Sayyids of Barha were among those who acquired a great reputation for bravery in the battlefield. Shahbaz Khan Kambu played an important role in the introduction of the famous dagh-o-mahal, [53] beside this he participated in several expeditions. Even though he was a fanatic Sunni Musalman,[54] his religious prejudices do not appear to have hindered him in any serious manner during the

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52. Iqtidar Alam Khan, The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious policy', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1968):31.

53. Badaoni, op.cit.2:193; Ain-i-Akbari, 1:253 Shahbaz Khan, the Mir Bakshi introduced a new custom, 'it was settled that every Amir should commerce as commander of Twenty (Bisti), and be ready with his followers to mount guard, carry messages, etc. as had been ordered; and when according to the rule he has brought the horses of his Twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a commander of 100 (Cadi), or of more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and Camels in proportion to their command (mansab), according to the same rule. When they had brought to the muster their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted *according to their merits and circumstances to the* post of commander of 1000 (Hazari), or 2000 (Duhazari), or even of 5600 (Panjhazari), which is the highest command, but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be degraded.'

54. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:439; S.A.A.Rizvi, Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslim in Akbar Reign 1556-1605, (New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1975), p.187.

fulfillment of his services and he remained committed to his duties as a loyal administrators.[55]

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55. A.Jan Qaisar, 'Shahbaz Khan Kamboh' Medieval India:A Miscellany, 1 (1962):72.

TABLE-4.6.1

IMPORTANT INDIAN MUSLIM JAGIRDARS

Sr. No.	Name of Jagirdars	Highest Rank	Other Family Member In Service	Jagirs and Its Probable Year of Assignments	Sourse
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Mirza Jani Beg	3000	Ghazi Beg (Son)	1593 A.D. Multan Thatta	A.A.1/389-94, M.U.1/743-48, T.A.2/662.
2	Itimad Khan	2500	---------------	Champanir Baroda 1580 A.D. Gujarat 1583 A.D. Patan Gujarat	A.A.1/418-21, M.U.1/705-8.
3	Shaikh Muhammad Bukhari	2000	Maternal Uncle of (Farid Bukhari) Ahmed (Brother)	1572 A.D. Dholka (Gujarat) 1585 A.D. Patan (Gujarat) Junagarh 1569 A.D. Ajmer	A.A.1/432-33, M.U.2/27-28.
4	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	2000	Karamullaha (Brother)	1585 A.D. Bihar 1583-5 A.D. Bengal 1590 A.D. Allahabad 1593 A.D. Malwa	A.A.1/336-40, M.U.1/732-41.
5	Sayyid Ahmad Barha	2000	Muhammad Bukhari (Brothe	1572 A.D. Patan Gujarat 1584 A.D. Ajmer 1585-7 A.D. Malwa	A.A.1/447, M.U.1/63.

1	2	3	4		5		6
6	Shaikh Farid Bukhari	1500		1581 A.D.	Sirohi	Ajmer	A.A.1/454-58, M.U.1/521-27.
7	Sayyid Qasim	1500	Sayyid Muhammad (Father) Sayyid Hashim (Brother)	1580-4 A.D. 12585 A.D. 1590 A.D.		Ajmer Gujarat Allahabad	A.A.1/461.
8	Shaikh Jamal	1000	--------------	1574 A.D.		Bihar	A.A.1/469-70, M.U.1/108-110
9	Baz Bahadur	1000	--------------	1575 A.D.		Malwa	A.A.1/473-74, M.U.1/394-96.
10	Mirza Najhatkahn	900	Husayan (Brother)			Bengal	A.A.1/486.
11	Mirza Husayan Khan	900	Najhat (Brother)			Bengal	A.A.1/486.
12	Sayyid Hamid Bukhari	2000	Kamal (Son)	1574 A.D. 1577 A.D. 1581 A.D. 1580 A.D. 1582 A.D. 1586 A.D.	Dhdaa Dandoaa Multan Sirohi Sirind Peshwar Peshwar	(Gujarat) Ajmer Lahore Kabul	A.A.1/433-35.
13	Sayyid Muhammad Barha	2000	Sayyid Hashim (Son)	1561 A.D.	Near Delhi		A.A.1/424-32.
14	Sayyid Hashim	1000	Sayyid Muhammad (Father) Sayyid Qasim (Brother)	1585 A.D.		Ajmer	A.A.1/487.

1	2	3	4		5	6
15	Ulugh Khan Habsni	1000		1575 A.D.	Bengal	A.A.1/483.
16	Sayyid Muhammad Mir Adl	900	Sayyid Abul Qasim (Son) Abul Maali (Son) Sayyid Abul Hasan (Son)	1577 A.D.	Bhakkar (Multan)	A.A.1/485.

4.7 RECAPITULATION

From the data available we may be able to conclude that during the early years of Akbar's reign, the emperor's policy may have been to assign _jagirs_ to members of a particular clan in the region administered by their leaders. We have come across several such instances. In 1559 A.D., for instance, the entire Jalair clan was assigned _jagirs_ in and around the _sarkar_ of Lucknow. In August 1560 A.D., Akbar decided to confer the 'whole of Panjab on him °Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka§ and his brothers'.[56] Again, the concentration of clans in particular regions was also facilitated by the inclination amongst influential superior nobles to procure _jagirs_ for their own clans men within the territory of their charge. Sometimes this was sought to be achieved even by violating or twisting the rules. An instance of a somewhat similar nature was that of Ali Quli Khan who assigned Banaras as _jagir_ to his brother on the presumption that he was doing it on behalf of the King.[57] The following clan concentrations also seem to have existed in 1565 A.D. The Uzebeks were assigned _jagirs_ in the Jaunpur region. There were also the examples of Qaqshal in Kara-Manikpur, Jalair in and around _sarkar_ Lucknow and Awadh, the Mirzas in

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56. Abul Fazl, _Akbarnama_, 2:126,173.

57. Bayazid Bayat, _Tazkira-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar_, p.244.

Sambhal and the Atka clan in Panjab. After 1560 A.D. the concentration of clans became a problems for the emperor. The clan concentration in a particular region led to the development of local connections with the people and that was a threat to royal power. Akbar later seems to have decided that the different ethnic, and religious groups among the nobility should be balanced in a manner that their concentration in an area on ethnic grounds and family ties would not be possible. This would prevent them from forming one united block to oppose the emperor.[58] It appears that during 1567 A D, there emerged a definite policy of not allowing the clans to remain concentrated in any particular region. Even the powerful Turani nobles were not exempted from the operation of this policy. Soon after the suppression of the Uzbek nobles in 1567 A.D., the members of the Atka family were transferred from the Panjab. Subsequently, their jagirs were scattered all over the empire.[59] Akbar now often assigned officers belonging to various groups to serve under one superior officers.[60]

Accordingly this prevented any single clan from becoming concentrated in any particular region. But it

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58. Onkar Nath Upadhya, Hindu Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir, (Agra: 1992), p.23; Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, p.xxx.

59. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:486-87.

60. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.15.

seems that the *jagirs* of a family or relatives were collectively assigned in a particular place.[61]

At the time of the allotment of *jagirs* to nobles, the distinct or separate character of each group was, however, respected. For example, the Kachhawahs were given *jagirs* in *suba* Kabul under Man Singh. They were subsequently removed by the emperor, because it appeared in 1587 A.D. that the Rajput clan behaved with injustice to the Muslim subjects of Kabul country, and that Man Singh failed to do justice to the oppressed population. Kabul was taken from Man Singh and Zain Khan Koka was called from Begram to Kabul and ordered to exercise 'watchfulness and distribute justice among the oppressed'.[62]

Thus we can argue that the Mughal nobility under Akbar was a body composed of multi-racial and multi-religious elements. However, the two foreign elements, Turanis and Iranis' enjoyed a predominant position in number rank and *jagir* allotment. Turani nobles were the largest in number because the ruling family was Turani.

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61. And we even did not come across in any instance when the whole family revolt against emperor. H.K.Naqvi, Incidents of Rebellions during the Reign of Akbar, *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, 2(1972):152. 'Before 1587 all the Kachhawahs were given *jagirs* in Kabul and later the *jagirs* of Raja Bhagwan Das and his family (Kachhawahs) were transferred to Bihar'. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:790.

62. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, 3:790.

During Humayun's first term of rule in India undoubtedly his nobility was overwhelmingly Turani. The list of nobles who accompanied Humayun to Iran, given by Abul Fazl includes only twenty six person in all. It is significant to note that out of these seven were of Irani origin.[63]

On the other hand during his stay in Iran many people of Irani origin joined Humayun's service. Certain others relations and clans men of Bairam Khan, although in minor capacities have also been referred to in our sources, as having joined Humayun's service.[64] It appears that after the conquest of Kabul by Humayun Irani nobles were able to further improve their position. An analysis of the list of nobles given by different sources further indicates the presence of Irani nobles in substantial numbers. Abul Fazl's list contains in all fifty seven nobles, out of these twenty seven were Turani, twenty one Irani and nine of them could not be identified.[65] During the regency of Bairam Khan also the Iranis maintained their position. After the overthrow of Bairam Khan a crisis developed at the court which ultimately led to the rebellion of a section of the nobility (mostly Iranis)

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63. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 1:221-22.

64. Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani element in Akbar's Nobility', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 36(1975):166.

65. Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani element in Akbar's Nobility', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 36(1975):167.

Iqtidar Alam has argued that in order to counterpoise the pressure of Turani nobility Akbar introduced two new elements (Indian Muslims and Rajput)[66] and a few reliable Afghans.[67] In his nobility and also promoted Irani nobles to higher ranks as a reward for their loyalty during the crisis.[68] It was the inclusion of the Indian element which was primarily responsible for the emergence of a heterogeneous ruling class of mansabdars and jagirdars.[69]

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66. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Formation of the Ruling Class', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress 17(1966):214.

67. I.A.Khan, 'Mughals Afghans Relation', Proceeding of the Indian History Congress, 24(1961):244.

68. Afzal Husain, 'Growth of Irani Elements in Akbar's Nobility, Proceeding of the Indian History Congress 36(1975):168 and Iqtidar Alam also considered Bairam falls as a significant change in Akbar's Religious policy. 'After Bairam falls the situation gradually changed. As is apparant from the accompanying tables, two new elements of local origin entered the imperial service between 1560 and 1575. These new elements were the Rajput chiefs and the Indian Muslim. At the same time there was a marked increase in the relative strength of the Persians' especially in the higher grandes. The net result of this process was the gradual fading away of the Turani complexion of the nobility as well as the erosion of the Chagatai tradition and custom of state organisation, thus indirectly facilitating Akbar's quest for an alternative theory of Kingship in the subsequent years' 'The nobility under Akbar and the development of his Religious Policy," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1968):30.

69. S.R.Sharma, 'Akbar Religious Policy' Indian History Quarterly, 13(1937):315. 'High Public appointments used to be the monopoly of the ruling class so far. Akbar disregarded this monopoly and drew his officers from all section and condition of men'.

CIAN WISE CLASSIFICATION O NOBLES

PERIOD	NOBLES STRENGTH	TURANI	IRANI	INDIAN MUSLIMS	RAJPUT AND OTHER HINDUS	UNSPECIFIED
1555	51	27 (52.9%)	16 (31.37%)	—	—	8 (15.68%)
1565-75	500 AND ABOVE 96	38 (39.58%)	37 (38.54%)	9 (9.37%)	8 (8.33%)	4 (4.16%)
	TOTAL NUMBER 176	67 (38.06%)	48 (27.27%)	25 (14.2%)	18 (10.22%)	18 (10.22%)
1580	272	66 (24.26%)	48 (17.27%)	25 (16.17%)	18 15.83%)	18 (26.47%)
1575-95	1000 AND ABOVE 87	32 (36.78%)	24 (27.58%)	14 (16.09%)	14 916.09%)	3 (3.44%)
	500 AND ABOVE 184	64 (37.78%)	47 (25.54%)	34 (18.48%)	30 (16.30%)	9 (4.89%)

Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy, 1560-80', 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society', (1968):35-36.

(1565 – 75 A.D.)

MANSAB	TURANI	IRANI	INDIAN MUSLIM	RAJPUT & OTHER HINDUS	OTHER	TOTAL
3000-5000	15	15	2	4	—	36
1000-2500	14	17	5	3	4	43
500-900	9	5	2	1	—	17
Mansab not Known	29	11	15	10	14	80
TOTAL	67	48	25	18	18	176

BASIS OF AIN-I-AKBARI LIST (1575-1595 CLAN COMPOSITION)

MANSAB	TOTAL	TURANI	IRANI	INDIAN MUSLIM	RAJPUT	OTHER HINDU	OTHER
5000	15	7	6	—	2	—	—
4500	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
4000	6	2	2	—	2	—	—
3500	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
3000	11	8	3	—	—	—	—
2500	5	2	—	2	1	—	—
2000	17	4	3	5	3	1	1
1500	7	2	—	3	2	—	—
1250	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
1000	21	7	6	4	2	—	2
900	34	13	9	8	3	—	1
800	2	1	—	1	—	—	—
700	22	12	3	3	2	1	1
600	4	1	3	—	—	—	—
500	35	5	8	8	9	1	4
TOTAL	184	64	47	34	27	3	9

CHAPTER-5

JAGIRDARS AS THE ARISTOCRACY

(Imperial Rewards and Distinctions)

Apart from the politico-administrative institutions that constitute the basis of any empire, in a Monarchical system the symbols of royalty have always played an important role in creating and maintaining the image of the medieval empire. The Mughal empire also had developed a considerable paraphernalia which represented its outward pomp and show.[1] These symbols of authority also become an integral part of the ruling polity.

Apart from their official salaries derived from their *jagirs* the nobles frequently received reward and distinction from the emperor. Honorary distinctions have been created by rulers in all countries, and they have often encouraged the subjects to seek such distinctions. The policy of the Mughal emperors was no exception in this regard, and they certainly succeeded in giving great symbolic value to common articles which might otherwise never have been of much significance. Among the marks of honour (rewards) bestowed by them, the most important were titles, robes of Honour, standards, Kettledrums, flag, ensign, royal visit jewelled daggers and betel leaves,

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1. For details see, Dr.Radhe Shyam, 'Honours, Ranks and Titles Under Humayun, Akbar and Shahjhan'. *Allahabad Universities Studies*, 1974, 76,78.

etc.[2] We have grouped them into different categories such as titles, Honour, presents and royal visit.

5.1 TITLES

With regard of titles given to nobles, it may be pointed out that they were an important symbol of royal favour. It was an established tradition that the Mughal emperors used to give titles to their nobles. These titles were numerous and so extensively given that often the original name of the person's to whom the titles were given was pushed into the background and later historians have come to know those nobles only through their titles. In many cases these titles have often been assumed to have been the actual names of the nobles whereas they were titles. Manucci one of the later travellers observed that 'the king confers these names (by which the nobles were known) either as a mark of distinctions and of the esteem and holds the particular office once held by him or else from friendship and liking'.[3]

These titles were especially granted by the Emperor on the occasions of royal festivities like royal

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2. Vide R.K.Phul, Armies of the Great Mughals, (New Dellhi: Oriental Publishers and Distributor, 1978), p.199. 'These included swords, daggers, animals like elephants and horse.'

3. Nicolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor 1653-1708, translated by W.Irvine, 4 vols, Indian Text Series, (London: Government of India, 1907-8): reprint ed., (New Delhi:Oriental Book reprint 1981),2:369.

birthdays, coronation anniversaries, Nauroza and the victorious return of the emperor or a nobles from a successful military campaign.[4] These rewards were granted according to a certain procedure.[5]

The Mughal nobles were decorated with high sounding titles which added to their stature.[6] Titles once conferred by the king also served officially as the name of the noble concerned. Some of the nobles were given more than one title. For example, a noble could be given one title at a particular time and later given

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4. A.L.Srivastava, Akbar The Great, 2nd ed. 3 vols. (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala & Company, 1973),2:260 'Specific services performed were rewarded by the grant of a flag or a kettle-drum or both. One of the highest honours conferred upon top officers was the grant of the insignia of Mahi-Maratib. Grant of land and of cash were also made. Sometimes horses with trappings and caprisoned elephants were conferred upon high ranking officers as reward as also ornamented swords, daggers and other weapons. The officers were helped with money advances and loan in times of need, and these were recovered by easy instalments.'

5. For Procedure See, R.K.Phul, Armies of the Great Mughals, p.196.

6. Amir Khan (lord of Riches), Zafar Khan (lord of Victory), Sarbuland Khan (lord of exalted position), Safshi Khan (Destroyer of the ranks of the enemy), and Shujaat Khan (lord of Bravery) may be cited as a few such examples, Distinguished titles included Amir-ul-Umara (The Chief Amir), Khan-i-Khanan (Lord of lords), Khan-i-Azam (the great Khan), Khan-jahan (lord of the world), Khan-i-Alam (Lord of the Universe) and Khan-i-Dauran (lord of the times), etc.
While conferring a title on a Hindu the word Raja or Rai was added to the name of person (See R.K.Phul, Armies of the Great Mughals, pp.198-99).

another.[7] The Mughals seem to have inherited from the Sultans of Delhi the practice of bestowing titles upon their amirs. 'In Hindustan, wrote Babur, they give permanent titles (Muqarrar-i-khitablar) to high favoured amirs, one such being Azam Humayun (August Humayun), Khan-i-Jahan (lord of the world), and another Khan-i-Khanan (lord of lords).[8] The Mughal rulers continued the practice of granting titles to nobles.

The award of a title was an expression of imperial pleasure over the services of a particular nobles. For instance, Abdur Rahim Khan in the year of 1584 A.D.earned the title of Khan-i-Khanan after his victory over Nanu (Chieftain of Gujarat) who had assumed the title of Muzaffar Khan.[9] In 1560 A.D. Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atka was given the title of Khan Aazam at Sirhind after he

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7. In the year 1560 A.D. Khawaja Muzaffar Ali, who had already obtained a title of Muzaffar Khan was now given title Darvesh Beg (vide, Akbarnama, 2/159), Tipur Das received the titles of Rai Rayan in 1601 A.D. and that of Raja Vikramaditya in 1605 A.D. (vide Maasir-ul-Umar, 1/411, and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, 1/4)

8. Zahirud-din-Muhammad Babur, Baburnama, A.S. Beveridge Trnslation, (New Delhi: 1972), p.537.

9. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:346; Akbarnama, 3:643. 'The Enlightened Khedive offered fresh thank giving for this great victory, and he exalted the loyal servants by various favours. Mirza Khan was raised to the rank of a Panchhazari and got the title of Khan-Khanan'.

defeated Bairam Khan.[10] A title could also be conferred on a noble when he was promoted, so as to encourage him to do his work with greater vigour. In the year of 1581 A.D. Aziz Koka was made Khan-i-Azam when he was deputed in expedition to the eastern provinces.[11] Under the Mughal rulers the title of Khan-i-Khanan was probably the highest that was conferred on any nobles.[12] According to some historians this high sounding title was originally created during the days of the decline of caliphate.[13] In Mughal India the use of this title was known even in the time of

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10. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:174-5, 'Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atka, who had done good service and returned victories was entitled by Aazam Khan.'

11. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:454.

12. In Akbar reign only mansabdars having commands of 200 zat and above were entitled to be called amirs (A.A.,1/239). The amirs were further divided into two classes. Commander of 1000 zat and above were styled Umara-i-Kibar or Umara-i-Izam (A.A.,1:240) i.e. great Amirs who corresponded to the greater barons of feudal England. The highest of them was honoured with the title of Amir-ul-Umara (the amir of amirs of principal amirs).

13. 'When the Caliphs became mere puppets in the hands of the Mayor of the Palace who exercised absolute authority in the realm in his master's name. It was considered necessary to raise him above his compeers. The title was specially created for Muhammad bin Raikh, Governor of Wasit and Bussorah. When he grew powerful he seized the supreme authority in the state and extorted the title from the helpless Razi, who found it impossible to exercise any control over his too-powerful subjects and therefore had to give legal sanction to his self-assumed dignity' Amir Ali's History of the Saracens, p.301

Babur.[14] Babur had conferred only the title of Khan-i-Khanan on Dilwar Khan. Humayun conferred this title on Mir Hindu Beg, who was entrusted with the government of Jaunpur. Throughout the Mughal period we find that when this title was conferred upon any amir, it was generally accompanied with a large cash present from the emperor for the maintenance of a matching position and dignity. Properly speaking, the title could be bestowed only on one amir at a time,[15] but the rules was not always rigidly observed.

During the Mughal period under Akbar Khan-i-Khanan was the highest title conferred on any nobles. It was conferred on the nobles whose services to the house were of the highest order. Bairam Khan on whom rests the credit for the restoration of Mughal empire in India, and who had served the house most unflinchingly, was the first recipient of this enviable title. Next in 1560 A.D. it was conferred upon Munim Khan, a very senior and influential noble.[16] The Third recipient of this title was Abdur Rahim,[17] son of Bairam Khan, who bagged this title at a comparatively young age. He justified the

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14. R.P.Khosla, Administrative Structure of the Great Mughals (New Delhi: Kanti Publications, 1991), p.232.

15. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:250.

16. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:174

17. Abnul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:643.

choice of emperor in 1581 A.D. when he was selected to head of the forces against Muzaffar Khan (Nanu) in view of the bickering amongst senior nobles.[18]

Great importance was attached to the title of Khan-i-Khanan, to what extent the nobles could be enamored of this title can be gauged from the fact that Sultan Mahmud of Bhakkar (Sind) solicited the recommendation of Shah Tahmasp of Persia to receive this title. Since Munim Khan was already styled as Khan-i-Khanan, Sultan Mahmud could not achieve his object.[19] While Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan was confronted with the problems of Gujarat, some of his nobles wanted him to wait for the arrival of help from Qulij Khan of Malwa. Daulat Khan Lodi who had been transferred by Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka to Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan when the latter was married to the daughter of the former, suggested to Abdur Rahim that if he wanted to earn the title of Khan-i-Khanan, he should fight without waiting for the re-enforcement.[20]

The awarding of titles, was also used as a political device. In the beginning of the Akbar reign, a large number of nobles were awarded the title and

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18. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh, 2:244.

19. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:358.

20. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin, (Karach: 1961), 1:32; P.S.Bedi, The Mughal Nobility Under Akbar, (Jallandhar: ABS Publishers, 1985), p.103

despatched to different parts of northern India to help extend the empire. Ali Quli Khan was exalted by the title of Khan-i-Aazam and sarkar of Sambhal and other parganas of the Doab were assigned to him as jagir.[21] Abdulla Khan Uzbek received the title of Shujaat Khan and he was appointed to the sarkar of Kalpi.[22] Iskandar Khan received the title of Khan-i-Alam and Pir Muhammad was styled as Nassir-ul-Mulk.[23] In the year 1580 A.D. 'the Qaqshals after putting Muzaffar Khan Turbati to death appropriated to themselves some of the most sought after titles. Masum Khan assumed the title of Khan-i-Dauran, Baba Khan Qaqshal was styled as Khan-i-Khanan, Jabbari was given the title of Khan-i-Jahan, Wazir Jamil earned the title Khan-i-Zaman, while Khaldin Khan and Jan Muhammad Bahsudi were allotted the title of Azim Khan and Khan Alam respectively.[24] Muzaffar Khan (of Gujarat) bestowed upon his officers titles like Khan-i-Khanan, Khan Zaman, Atka Khan, Khan-i-Alam, Khan Jahan and Khan-i-Kalan after his victory over the Mughals in 1583 A.D.[25]

The title was used either as a suffix or a prefix to the name and after they had earned the title the nobles

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21. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:71
22. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:71
23. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:71
24. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:449-50.
25. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,3:612.

were addressed by that title. Whenever the emperor wanted to raise a commoner to the rank of an amir he conferred upon him the title of khan in the case of Muhammad and Rai or Raja in that of Hindu. The title of Khan was a very common one, bestowed upon several nobles by Akbar during his reign. Great care was exercised lest a person who had not reached the requisite status, be given the title of Khan.[26] In 1572 A.D. Birbal (Mahesh Das) on account of his poetic genius was given title of Kavi-Rai (Prince of poets),[27] and in view of his military skill shown in Multan he was graced with the title of Birbal or Birbar.[28] (Renowned warrior), Sahib-us-Saif-o-Qalam[29] (master of sword and pen), Raja and Musahib-i-Danishwar (wise counselor)[30] Man Singh was given the title of Farzand (son) for the loyalty he had shown to the emperor. A further title that he was given and which show his high status was that of Mirza Raja.[31] Again in 1589 A.D. Raja Man Singh also received the title of Raja after the death

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26. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.140; Onkar Nath Upadhya, Hindu Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir (Agra:V.K.Publishers, 1992), p.14.

27. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,2:164.

28. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Twaraikh,2:164-5.

29. M.H.Azad, Darbar-i-Akbari, (Lahore:1939),p.307.

30. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari,2:399.

31. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:236, which was the highest title conferred upon Hindu by Mughal ruler

of his father Bhagwan Das. It should also be noted that there was also an element of heredity in the granting of titles during Akbar's reign. Sometimes, out of gratitude to a deceased noble, the emperor would confer his title upon his son or grandson. In the 1604 A.D. Zahid received his father's title of Sadiq Khan.[32] It is interesting to note that there were some instance when the nobles were unwilling to accept the title offered by the king. There are examples such as Muhammad Niazi, Mirza Rustam Safvi and Abul Hasan Turbati, where the nobles did not accept the title. Muhammad Niazi, for instance, refused to accept the title by saying that his name was Muhammad than which no better name existed.[33]

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32. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1239.

33. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:540-1.

TABLE - 5.1.1.

TITLE GIVEN TO NOBLES UNDER AKBAR

Sr. No.	Name of Nobles	Year	Title	Sources
1	2	3	4	5
1	Mir Ghiasu-d-din Ali	1556 A.D.	Naqib Khan	A.N. 2/35, M.U. 2/383, T.A. 2/232.
2	Khwaja Sultan Ali	1556 A.D.	Afzal Khan	A.N. 2/48.
3	Bairam Khan	1556 A.D.	Khan khanan	A.N. 2/9.
4	Mir Munshi	1556 A.D.	Ashraf Khan	A.N. 2/48.
5	Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri	1556 A.D.	Shaikh-ul-Islam Makhdum-ul-Mulk	A.N. 2/73.
6	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	1556 A.D.	Shujaat Khan	A.N. 2/71, M.U. 1/82.
7	Ali Quli Khan	1556 A.D.	Khan Zaman	A.N. 2/71, T.A. 2/213.
8	Iskandar Khan	1556 A.D.	Khan Aalam	A.N. 2/71.
9	Maulana Pir Muhammad	1556 A.D.	Nasir-ul-Mulk	A.N. 2/71.
10	Khwaja Amin-ud-din Mahmud	1558 A.D.	Khwaja-i-Jahan	T.A. 2/231.
11	Jan Muhammad Baheudi	1560 A.D.	Khan	A.N.2/184

1	2	3	4	5
12	Mir Muhammad	1560 A.D.	Khan Kalan	A.N. 2/143.
13	Yusuf Muhammad	1560 A.D.	Khan	A.N .2/165, M.U. 2/1008.
14	Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan	1560 A.D.	Khan Azam	A.N. 2/175.
15	Khwaja Aminu-d-din Mahmud	1560 A.D.	Khwaja Jahan	A.N. 2/145.
16	Khwaja Abdul Majid Harvi	1560 A.D.	Asaf Khan	A.N. 2/169, M.U.T. 2/43, T.A. 2/146.
17	Mulla Pir Muhammad	1560 A.D.	Khan-i-Khanan	A.Ali, 34
18	Husain Quli Khan Beg	1560 A.D.	Khan Jahan	A.N. 2/158.
19	Khwaja Muzaffar Ali	1560 A.D.	Darvesh Beg Uzbeg	A.N. 2/159.
20	Munim Khan	1560 A.D.	Khan-i-Khanan	A.N. 2/174,279, M.U.T. 2/104.
21	Adali	1561 A.D.	Sher Khan	A.N. 2/215.
22	Khwaja Muzaffar Ali	1563 A.D.	Muzaffar Khan	A.N.2/306, T.A.2/280, M.U. 2/360.
23	Muqim Khan Arab	1563 A.D.	Shujat Khan	A.N. 2/350-1.
24	Abdul Maali Topci	1563 A.D.	Rumi Khan	A.N. 2/292.
25	Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Ali	1564-5 A.D.	Asaf Khan	A.Ali, 35

1	2	3	4	5
26	Calma Khan	1564 A.D.	Khan Aalam	A.N. 2/343, M.U. 1/691.
27	Mirza Aziz Koka	1566-7 A.D.	Azam Khan	T.A. 2/333.
28	Bahadur Khan	1566 A.D.	Bahadur Khan	A.N. 2/419.
29	Iskandar Mirza	1566 A.D.	Ulugh Mirza	A.N. 2/414.
30	Muhammad Sultan Mirza	1566 A.D.	Shah Mirza	A.N. 2/414.
31	Sultan Ali	1566 A.D.	Lashkar Khan	A.N. 2/410.
32	Birbal	1572 A.D.	Kab Rai	T.A. 2/392, M.U. 1/420.
33	Shah Fakruddin Khan Mashudi	1572 A.D.	Naqabat Khan	T.A. 2/411, M.U. 2/363.
34	Fattu Khan Afghan	1572 A.D.	Fattu Khan Masnad-i-Ali	A.N.1/590.
35	Muzaffar Khan Turbati	1573 A.D.	Jumat-ul-Mulk	T.A. 2/424.
36	Mirza Mirak	1573 A.D.	Ridavi Khan	M.U. 2/76.

1	2	3	4	5
37	Mir Gesu	1574 A.D.	Gesu Khan	T.A. 2/451.
38	Arab S/O Hashim Khan	1574 A.D.	Niyabat Khan	A.N. 3/134.
39	Shahrullah Kambu Lahori	1574 A.D.	Shahbaz Khan	A.N. 3/65, M.U.T. 2/171-72.
40	Mir Abu Turab	1574 A.D.	Amim-ul-Mulk	A. Ali, 4.
41	Man singh	1576 A.D.	Farzand, Mirza Rajah	A.N. 3/236-7.
42	Shaikh Faizi	1577-8 A.D.	Malik-al- Shura	M.U.T. 2/248.
43	Qutbuddin khan	1578 A.D.	Beglar Begi	A.N 3/401.
44	Maulana Abdulla sultanpuri	1579 A.D.	Makhdum-ul Mulk	A.N 3/395, M.U 1/95.
45	Humayun Farmuli	1579 A.D.	Humayun-Quli Beg	
46	Mirza Aziz Koka	1580 A.D.	Khan a zim	A.N. 3/454.
47	Mehtar Sadai	1580 A.D.	Peshran Khan	T.A. 2/526.
48	Masum Kabuli	1580 A.D.	Asl.	T.A. 2/532,515.
49	Khwaja Muhammad Ali	1581 A.D.	Khazanchi (Iqbalnama)	A.N. 3/524.
50	Mirza Khan	1581-2 A.D.	Khan khanan	A.N. 3/524.

1	2	3	4	5
51	Daulat Khan Lodhi	1584 A.D.	Mir sham sher	A.A. 1/355, M.D(Hindi),2/184.
52	Mir Fath- ullah-Shirazi	1584 A.D.	Azad-ud-daula	A.N. 3/701.
53	Abdul Faiz Faizi	1588 A.D.	Malik-Sh-Shara (King of Poet)	A.N. 3/814.
54	Shah Quli Khan	1588 A.D.	Mahram	M.U. 2/775-76.
55	Man Singh	1589 A.D.	Rajah	A.N. 3/863, T.A. 2/597, M.U. 2/50.
56	Bir Bahdru	1592 A.D.	Rajah	M.U. 2/583.
57	Sher Ajghan	1594 A.D.	Khan	A.N. 3./1000.
58	Khwaja Daulat Nazir	1594 A.D.	Khan	A.N. 3/999.
59	Rai Patar Das	1596-7 A.D.	Rai Rayan	M.U. 1/411.
60	Tash Beg	1597 A.D.	Taj Khan	M.U. 2/949.
61	Kalyar Bahadur	1598 A.D.	Bahadur Khan	A.N. 3/1108.
62	Salbahan	1601 A.D.	Rajah	A.N. 3/197,1223.
63	Vrij S/O Khan Khanan	1602 A.D.	Bahadur	A.N. 3/1223, M.U.2/765.
63	Darjudhan	1602 A.D.	Rajah	M.U. 2/584.

1	2	3	4	5
64	Suraj Singh	1603 A.D.	Rajah	M.U. 1/572.
65	Khwaja Abdulla	1603 A.D.	Safdar Khan	A.N. 3/1235.
66	Patar Das Rai Rayan	1604 A.D.	Bikramjit	A.N. 3/1234.
67	Zahid	1604 A.D.	Sadiq Khan	A.N. 3/1239.
68	Takhta Beg Kabuli	1604 A.D.	Khan	A.N. 3/1247.
69	Mir Abir Turab	1604 A.D.	Ashraf Khan	A.N. 3/1249.
70	Muqim	1604 A.D.	Wazir Khan	A.N. 3/1249.
71	Raj Singh	1604 A.D.	Rajah	A.N. 3/1239, M.U. 2/989.
72	Zaman Beg	————	Mahabat Khan	M.U. 2/10.
73	Udai Singh Rathore	————	Rajah	M.U. 1/571.
74	Badshah Khwaja	————	Shir Khwaja	M.U. 2/849-50.
75	Maulana Nuruddin	————	Khan Tarkhan	M.U. 2/461.
76	Jahangir Quli Khan	————	Baz Bahadur	M.U. 1/728.

1	2	3	4	5
77	Inayat S/O Taklu Khan	———	Darbar	M.U. 1/453.
78	Qazi Nizam	———	Ghazi Khan	M.U. 1/584.
79	Khwajara (Phul Malik)	———	Itimad Khan	M.U. 1/709.

5.2 HONOURS

Distinctions made on the basis of the honours granted has always been an important source of motivation for an aristocracy based society.[34] Under the Chagtai Mughals customary for each noble to be honoured according to his rank and status. The Mughal emperor kept alive this rule and only in exceptional circumstances was this ignored. The princes, nobles, scholars and learned divines, physicians, ambassadors and a host of other functionaries were honoured with a variety of honours which comprised of innumerable kinds of articles, clothes, jewels, spears, swords (jewel stubbed or ordinary), flags and insigns, drums, pencases, daggers, robe of honour, different breeds of horse and even elephants of different sizes. The nobles were honoured on different ceremonial occasions in recognition of their meritorious service, devotion to the royal family and faithfulness. The far and near, the rich and poor, share His Majesty's liberality. He gives away elephants, horse and other valuable articles.[35] Normally these honours accompanied a promotion or a new appointment that was granted. Such honours were frequently made after a victory in a military expedition or on festival days. On the day of Dusserah,

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34. William Irvine, The Army of the Great Mughals, p.28.

35. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, vol.i, 276.

in 1604 A.D., for example a gold-embroidered shawl was presented to the Khan-i-Azim. Similarly, gold embroidered Shawls were presented to all the mansabdars who were placed between the rank of 5000 to 1000 zat; the dopatta or Gujarati Shawls were presented to those who ranked between 900 to 500 zat; embroidered (Kalabatan) Shawls were given to those who held ranks from 400 to 100 zat, and the ranks below this, were given plain shawls.[36] Mirza Khan, on account of his success in Gujarat was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan in 1584 A,D, a horse, dress of honour, a jewelled dagger and tumantogh and the rank of 5000 zat[37] Occasionally the emperor would offer an article of his personal belonging as a present to a noble. Akbar gifted his own crescent scimitar to Husain Khan, which was the most renowned of cimeters.[38]

Robes of honour[39] generally called Khilats were

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36. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:276

37. Abul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:346.

38. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:346.

39. On the occasion of granting a robe of honour Siyar, Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, 1:43, describes the procedure thus; 'The custom is that the man designated for the honour (khilat) passes into a neighbouring closet where a person prepared for that office hold over the man's turban, that which is bestowed upon him. He also assists in his putting on new cloths, that is gown and sash, over his gown; and in that condition, he proceedes to the presence, preceded by a principal mace-bearer, or chobdar, who proclaims his name and title aloud, with the reason of receiving that honour. This ceremony over, the man goes home, where he gets new clothes fitted to his body and he wears them for three days, or at least he wears the turban and the piece of jewel along with it.'

bestowed on all those who came to pay their homage to Akbar at his court. Whenever the emperor wished to honour a stranger or one of his subjects, he would present him with a khilat from the royal wardrobe. The quality of the khilat was determined by the rank and status of the person to whom it was to be presented. There were five kind of khilats. These were khilats of three, five, six or seven pieces, or they might, as a special mark of favour, consist of the clothes that the emperor had actually worn (malbus-i-khas)[40] A Three piece khilat which was given from the general wardrobe of the emperor (khilat-khana), consisted of a Turban (dastar), a long coat with very full skirt (jamah), and a scarf for the waist (Kamar-band). A five piece robe came from the store-house for presents (toshah-khana). Here the extra piece was a turban ornament called a sarpech and a band for tying across the turban (balaband).[41] The khilats were generally awarded on the same occasion as those on which titles were conferred on nobles as also for the different seasons. Hindu nobles were sometimes given khilats on the occasion of Dashehra.[42] Some times Akbar granted his own personal

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40. William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, p.29

41. William Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, p.29; for more details see (for type of Khilats) R.K.Phul, Armies of the great Mughal, pp.200-400.

42. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p.41

belonging as present to noble on different occasions. 'In 1560 A.D. Bairam Khan begged forgiveness from Akbar (because he had rebelled) and came of his presence where he got a glorious robe which Akbar was wearing.[43] In some other place emperor gifted his own sword to Husain Khan.[44]

The articles other than cash, which were given by way of honour and gifts to the nobles were as follow: Jewelled ornaments, weapons (such as swords and daggers with jewelled hilts), palkis (with fringes of gold lace and pearls), horse with gold mounted and jewelled trappings, and elephants.[45] When Raj Singh Kachhawa exertated himself to suppress the rebellious Bir Singh Bundella in 1604 A.D., Akbar honoured him with the gift of a horse, a shawl and drum.[46] Khan-i-Jahan on his appointment as the governor of Bengal was presented with gold embroidered clothes and a vest of gold and a jewelled

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43. Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasir-ul-Umara, 3 vols. Translated by H.Beveridge. Revised and compeleted by Baini Prasad, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1941-52); reprint ed., (Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1979), 1:374.

44. Shah Nawaz Khan, Maasir-ul-Umara, 2:168. Vide Manaucci, Storia-Do-Mogor,2:464, 'Some times, the emperor would take off from his body his upper coat, and make the man put it on his presence to signify that he loved him as he did his own person'.

45. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.142.

46. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1239.

sword belt and a horse with a guilded saddle.[47] Similarly, when Munim Khan Khan Khanan conquered Bengal, the emperor expressed his happiness and satisfaction and sent splendid robes, jewelled swords and a horse with a golden saddle to him.[48]

Kettledrum were a symbol of royalty and were played when the emperor was himself at the head of the army during its march. Sometimes they were also granted to a noble who was allowed to play them as a mark of special royal favour. But there was one restriction placed on the recipient. He was not allowed to play them at the place where the emperor was present. To do so was tantamount to a defiance of royal authority. The naubat, or the beating of drums, accompanied by the playing of other musical instruments, was clearly a mark of sovereignty and could not be appropriated by any subject without the special permission of the emperor. We learn from Badaoni that some nobles were allowed to keep the standard and kettledrums as a mark of royal favour.[49] For his gallantry in the battle of sarnal, Bhagwan Das was rewarded with a flag and a kettledrum, never before bestowed on a Hindu.[50] In 1603 A.D. in view of his good

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47. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,2:818; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 2:379.

48. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 2:379.

49. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,2:21

50. A.L.Srivastva, Akbar the Great, 1:127

service and faithfull service in the Deccan Suraj Singh was granted a drum.[51] Daulat Khan Lodhi and Muhammad Khan Niyazi were also honoured by kettledrums.[52] When the emperor wanted to express his displeasures with an amir the latter could be called upon to surrender these at the order of the emperor. When Khan-khanan Bairam Khan was offended with Pir Muhammad Khan he acting on behalf of the young emperor, ordered him to surrender the standard, kettledrums and all the other paraphernalia of a nobles pomp.[53] Interestingly, this was done because the Pir's faults was that his servants had kept the Khan-i-Khanan waiting for some time before allowing him to visit their master. The Khan-Khanan in his own turn had to make a similar surrender when he incurred the displeasure of the young Akbar.

The procedure of granting the drums to a noble was rather amusing. The drums were placed on the back of the nobleman who, with them on his back, did homage to the emperor in the presence of the whole of the darbar. Sometimes for purposes of convenience miniature drums were used at the time of the ceremony and drums of the proper

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51. V.S.Bhargava, Marwar and the Mughal Emperor, (New Delhi:Munshiram Manohar Lal, 1966),p.64

52. Rita Joshi, The Afghan Nobility and the Mughals, (New Delhi:Vikas Publishing House Pvt.Ltd.1985),p.192.

53. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:21.

dimensions were made over to the recipient afterwards.[54] The right to carry the flags and similar ensigns before the emperor was conferred on some high nobles to establish their distinction from their fellow companions. These ensigns were either to be found at the entrance of the audience hall or were carried on elephants before the emperor. They were called the Qur,[55] and the officer who was placed in charge of the Qur was known as the Qurbegi.[56] One of the ensigns Mahi-maratib was so called as it resembled a fish in shape. We learn from Seir-i-Mutakherin that it was made in the figure of a fish; four feet in length, of copper gilt, and it was placed horizontally on the point of a spear. Beside the fish there were other things as well, for instance balls, of the same material as the fish. These balls had a circle of fringe round them and rested on the tops of long poles. Both the fish (mahi) and the balls (maratib) were carried on an elephant. A flag (alam) which consisted of a triangular piece of cloth with an embroidered figure on it was a distinction of much lower quality. Tuman-togh, or the Yak's tail standard was another distinction which was bestowed on some nobles.[57] All these dignities were

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54. W.Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, p.30; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,1:160

55. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari,1:52.

56. W.Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, p.31.

57. W.Irvine, The Army of the Indian Mughals, p.34.

highly appreciated by those on whom they were conferred, for they lent distinction to the recipients.

TABLE-5.2.1

HONOURS AND REWARDS GRANTED TO NOBLE BY AKBAR

Sr. No.	Name	Year	Honour/Reward	Source
1	2	3	4	5
1	Bihari Mal	1556 A.D. (a)	A robe of honour	A.N. 2/70.
		1581 A.D. (b)	Dress of honour special horse and abudent riches (Khwasta)	A.N. 2/524, M.U. 2/383.
2	Mir Ghiasuddin Ali	1556 A.D.	Royal favour	M.U. 2/383.
3	Pir Muhammad Khan	1560 A.D.	Standard and a drum	M.U.1/479.
4	Iskander Khan Uzbek	1572 A.D.	Waist dagger along with other honours like dresses honour(Charqab)ornamented sword belt and a horse with golden saddle	M.U. 1/692, A.N. 2/91, T.A.2/369.
5	Bahabal Khan	1558 A.D.	A robe of honour and presents	A.N. 2/119
6	Kamal Khan Gakkhar	1558 A.D.	A robe of honour	A.N. 2/119

1	2	3	4	5
7	Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka Khan	1560 A.D.(a)	The Standard, Flag, Kettle drums, Tumantogh daqu dress(Pelisse), the Khilat-i-Fattahi dress (robe of Victory) and insignia	A.N. 2/143,174,185, M.U. 2/158.
		1561 A.D.(b)	Exalted by the glorious favours	A.N. 2/230, T.A. 2/247.
8	Bairam Khan	1560 A.D.	A glorious robe (Special robe of honour)	M.U. 1/374, T.A. 2/249.
9	Munim Khan	1560 A.D. (a)	Royal Favour, robe of honour and a horse	A.N. 2/174, T.A. 2/247, M.U.T.2/104.
		1567 A.D. (b)	Handsome robe of honour and a horse	T.A. 2/338,
		1574 A.D. (c)	Splendid robe of honour, jewelled sword, belt and a horse with golden saddle	T.A. 2/469.
10	Khwaja Abdul Majid Harvi	1560 A.D.	A drum alongwith other honours	M.U. 1/37.
11	Ali Quli Khan	1561 A.D.	Gifts of horses and robes of honour	T.A. 2/257, M.U. 1/198.

1	2	3	4	5
12	Bahadur Khan	1561 A.D	Gift of horse, jewelled waist dagger and a robe of honour	T.A. 2/257, M.U. 1/351.
13	Muqim Khan Arab	1563 A.D.	A Khillat	T.A.2/286, M.U.2/851.
14	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1568 A.D.	Robe of honour	A.N. 2/491-2.
15	Khwaja Husain (poet)	1569 A.D.	Two Lakhas Tanka	T.A. 2/358.
16	Muhibb Ali Khan	1571 A.D.	Robe of honour, Standard and a drum	T.A.2/367, M.U.2/225.
17	Raja Bhagwan Das	1572 A.D.	A banner, Kettle-drum and a flag *	T.A.2/381, M.U.1/104.
18	Muzaffar Khan Turbati	1573 A.D.	Robe of honour	T.A.2/424.
19	Todar Mal	1573 A.D.(a)	Special Sword (Akbar's own Sword)	T.A.2/452.
		1574 A.D.(b)	Standard and a drum	A.N.3/144.
20	Qazi Nazami	1573 A.D.	Jewelled Sword, belt and 5000 rupees cash	T.A.2/452.
21	Ghazi Khan Badakshi	1574 A.D.	Robe of honour, waist dagger and decorated Sword	M.U.1/584.

* Such honour was never before bestowed on a Hindu. A.L. Srivastva, , Akbar the great, 1/127.

1	2	3	4	5
22	Daud Afghan	1574 A.D.(a) 1575 A.D.(b)	Feasted and honoured Khilat, Sword (Jewelled) and embroidered belt	M.U.T.2/199,290. A.N.3/185.
23	Hasan Khan Batani	1574 A.D.	Recipient of royal Favour	A.N.3/115.
24	Rai Purukhotam	1574 A.D.	Robe of honour	A.N.3/122.
25	Man Singh	1576-7 A.D.	Grand dresses of honour and Iraqi horse	T.A.2/489, M.U.2/49.
26	Khan Jahan	1576 A.D.	Gift of golden embriodered Qaba(robe), a chaharqab (special kind of robe) of golden embriodery,belt,sword ornamented with gold and Jewels, and a horse with golden Saddle	T.A.2/480.
27	Muhibb Ali Khan s/o Mir Khalifa	1571 A.D.(a)	A flag	M.U.2/222.
		1577 A.D.(b)	Glorious robe a honour	A.N.3/304.
28	Mir Abu Turab	1577 A.D.	Five lakhs of rupees and 10,000 Khilats	A.N.3/306.
29	Jagannath	1578 A.D.	Robe of honour	A.N.3/362.

1	2	3	4	5
30	Qutbuddin Khan	1579 A.D.	Robe of honour (daqu)	M.U.2/346, A.N.3/401.
31	Daulat Khan Lodi	1579 A.D.(a)	A Khilat and a horse	M.D.3/482.
		1599 a.D.(b)	A Khilat and a horse	M.D.3/483.
32	Itimad Khan Gujarati	1580 A.D.	30 elephants and 100 horses	A.N.3/465.
33	Masum Kabuli	1580 A.D.	A horse and special robe of honour	T.A.2/532,515.
34	Jalaluddin Raushaniya s/o Pir Raushani	1581 A.D.	Recipient of royal favour	M.D.5/3.
35	Mohammad Khan Niyazi	1581-83 A.D.	Rs. 100,000 a year (by Shahbaz Khan leader of Bengal Cpmpaign)	A.N.1/561.
36	Raja Ram Chand	1583 A.D.	101 horses	M.U. 2/583.
37	Abdur Rahim Mirza Khan	1584 A.D.	A horse, dress of honour, Jewelled girdle, dagger and a Tamantogh (a standard of the highest dignity)	M.U.T.2/346, T.A.2/573, A.N.3/643, M.U.1/51.
38	Mir Fath-Ullah-Shirazi	1584 A.D.	Rs. 5000, a horse and special robe of honour	T.A.2/601, A.N.3/701, M.U.1/544.

1	2	3	4	5
39	Janish Bahadur	1585 A.D.	A horse	M.U.1/749.
40	Mirza Sharukh	1584 A.D.(a)	Nine Horse	M.U.2/780.
		1585 A.D.(b)	One Lakh of rupees, furnishing, Nine Iraqi horse, five elephants and some camels	T.A.2/598.
		1603 A.D.(c)	Noted horse, 5 elephant and special robe of honour	A.N.3/1229.
41	Mirza Jani Beg	1585 A.D.	A drum	M.U.T.2/370, Tuzuk.1/71.
42	Macum Khan	1585 A.D.	Present of a horse and a dress of honour	M.U.T.2/274.
43	Shah quli Mahram	1588 A.D.(b)	A drum and a flag	M.U.2/10.
44	Raja of Radaur	1589 A.D.	Choice Khilats and 101 horses	A.N.3/880.
45	Zain Khan Koka	1591 A.D.(a)	Right to drum	M.U.1/1026, A.N.3/889,911.
		1602 A.D.(b)	20 Kachi horse	A.N.3/1224.

1	2	3	4	5
46	Sultan Murad	1591 A.D.	A standard, a kettledrum, an umbrella, Togh(banner), musical band, emblems and insignia of nobility and imperial chaharqals	A.N.3/911, T.A.2/634.
47	Mirza Rustam	1594 A.D.	A flag, a drum and decorated dagger	A.N.3/999, M.U.2/633.
48	Qulij Khan	1595 A.D.(a)	Choice Khilat and special horse	A.N.3/1004.
		1602 A.D.(b)	Special Shawl	A.N.3/1222.
49	Mirza Aziz Koka	1594 A.D.(a)	Choice Khilat, numerous Swift horse and camels	A.N.3/1004.
		1604 A.D.(b)	A golden embriodered Shawl	A.N.3/1245.
50	Shaham	1596 A.D.	Royal Favours	A.N.3/1064.
51	Abul Fazl	1598 A.D.(a)	Choice horse, Special Khilat and mast elephant	A.N.3/1120.
		1599 A.D.(b)	Choice robe of honour, a special horse, a flag and a drum	A.N.3/1173.

1	2	3	4	5
52	M.Ghazi	1599 A.D.(a)	Robe of honour	A.N.3/1172.
		1605 A.D.(a)	A Jewels	A.N.3/1257.
53	Raja Partap (Zamindar of Baglana)	1599 A.D.	A flag and a drum	
54	Mirza Muzaffar Husain	1593 A.D.(a)	A flag and a drum	M.U.2/633.
		1601 A.D.(c)	20 Elephants and 20 elephants guns (hatnal), 10 horses and some other presents swift special horses, Khilat, Special dagger and noted Elephants	A.N.3/1184, 1201, 1206.
55	Mir Murtaza	1600 A.D.	A flag and a drum	A.N.3/1166.
56	Salbahan	1601 A.D.	Special Shawl (Parm Narm)	A.N.3/1197, 1223.
57	Sultan Daniel	1601 A.D.(a)	Two Lakhs of muhars Oranament waist dagger.	A.N.3/1181.
		1603 A.D.(b)	Akbar send his own Turban and special horse called Harparshad	A.N.3/1229, 31,34.
58	Sher Khwaja	1601 A.D.	A flag and a drum	A.N.3/1177.

1	2	3	4	5
59	Ali Beg AkbarShahi	1601 A.D.	A flag and a drum	A.N.3/1177.
60	Salim Prince	1602 A.D.(a)	Fath Laskar, special horse and a robe of honour	A.N.3/1223.
		1603 A.D.(b)	Elephant Pun (holy)	A.N.3/1230.
61	Husain Qulij	1602 A.D.	Robe of Honour	A.N.3/1222.
62	Taluk Khan	1602 A.D.	A shawl	A.N.3/1222.
63	S.Abdur Rahman	1603 A.D.	Special Shawl (Parm Narm)	A.N.3/1231.
64	Raj Singh Kachhawa	1604 A.D.	A horse, a shawl and a drum	A.N.3/1239, M.U.2/1239, M.U.2/579.
65	S.Farid Bakshi	1604 A.D.	A flag and a drum	A.N.3/1249.
66	Khawaja Abdulla	1604 A.D.	Robe of honour and present of Rs. 20,000	A.N.3/1247.
67	Abun Nabi Bahadur Khan Uzbeg	1603 A.D.	A Jewelled waist dagger	M.U.1/351.
68	Sultan Khusrau	1605 A.D.	A drum and Tuman Togh (Standard)	A.N.3/1257.
69	Abu-l-baqa Uzbeg	1605 A.D.	Jewels	A.N.3/1257.

1	2	3	4	5
70	Abdi Khwaja	1605 A.D.	A dagger	A.N.3/1257.
71	Tardi Khan	1605 A.D.	A present of 5 lakhs of dams	A.N.3/1252.
72	Maualana Nuruddin	—	A drum and flag	M.U.2/461.
73	Mirza Ali Beg	—	A flag	M.U.1/178.

5.3. PRESENTS

The wealth of the Mughal nobles was derived from the salaries they obtained as mansabdars. A fair proportion of this wealth found its way back to the royal treasury. The system of nobles offering presents to the emperor on various occasions had become a part of the court etiquette. Infact, it was a general custom all over Asia, that 'The great are never approached with empty hands.'[58] This was a custom which none dared to disregard as it was a sign of allegiance which the subjects owed to their liege-lord, the sovereign. The nobles who came frequently into personal contact with the emperor could hardly avoid these occasions. Raja Man Singh arrived from Bengal and did homage and while doing so also tendered 1,000 muhurs and Rs.12,000 as a present.[59] A failure to observe the custom would have invited disaster. The system of making presents to the emperor continued even during subsequent reign and this is made quite obvious by the account of later observers. Tavernier tell us 'whoever, it may be who desires to have audience of the king' they (the official) ask before everything else, where the present is

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58. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mughal empire, Translated by A.Constable, Revised by Vincent Smith (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint, 1983),p.200.

59. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1256

that he has to offer to him, and they examine it to see if it is worthy of being offered to emperor. No one ever ventures to show himself with empty hands, and it is an honour obtained at no little cost.'[60]

There were various occasions on which it was customary for the noble to offer presents to the emperor, when he was weighed with a great deal of ceremony in the midst of great rejoicing, all the amirs were expected to make presents to him that were commensurate with their respective position and ambitious.[61] These presents were by way of congratulations offered on the happy occasion. Every amir kept a stock of gold muhurs (asharfis) and precious stone to be presented to the emperor on all solemn occasions.

Another occasion on which the emperor received presents from the nobles was the new years day. There is an interesting account of the celebration of the occasion for a later period. The significance that was attached to it calls for a more elaborate description. A throne was erected for the occasions in the middle of a courtyard. An enclosure was formed by means of valuable curtains, and the top was covered with costly awnings. Beautiful Persian carpets covered the floor. The great magnates of the

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60. Jean-Baptiste, Tavernier, Travels in India, Translated by W.Bail. Revised by William Crook, 2 vols, (London: Humphrey Mil Ford, 1925),1:140-1.

61. N.Manucci, Storia-Do-Mogor, 2:347-8.

realm and persons of high position were admitted to the enclosure, while the courtyard was filled with the tents of the nobles who delighted in spreading out their wealth and displaying their treasures. The emperor could enter any of these tents and take whatever took his fancy. Then he mounted the throne and received the gifts which were offered by all who were present, on that occasion even ordinary people were permitted to offer gifts to him when he showed himself.[62]

On the birthdays and other important occasions the ceremony of offering presents was observed not only in the darbar, where the emperor sat surrounded by the nobles, but also inside the palace in the quarters occupied by the ladies of the royal household. The wives of all important nobles had to go to offer their congratulations to the queens and princesses. As it was considered wrong to go with empty hands, the congratulations were always accompanied with costly presents.[63] When a prince was born the nobles offered jewels, money, elephants or horses as presents to the emperor.[64]

Whenever a great victory was obtained by the royal arms the nobles offered present to the emperor by way of congratulations. Whenever the emperor passed near a

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62. De laets, Description of India and Fragments of Mughal History, Translated by J.S.Hoyland, p.100.

63. Manucci's, Storia Do Mogor, 2:345.

64. Manucci, Storia Do Mogor, 2:343.

nobles camp, etiquette required that prince, noble or chief concerned should come out to the edge of his camp to make a present to him. They might offer a gold muhur or anything else befitting the occasion. The absence of a present was accounted as a breach of etiquette. The emperor received nazars not only from the nobles but also from the royal princes who were as much his subjects as the other amirs and were therefore equally bound by the rules of the court ceremonial. Even the rajas who went to pay homage to the emperor had to make presents to him. When the Raja of Kumaon came down the Sawalik hills to pay his homage to Akbar at Lahore he brought rare presents including a Yak and a musk-dear among other things.[65]

Whenever noble were given promotion, on that occasion noble also made presents to the emperor. When Qutbudin Muhammad Khan Atka was appointed ataliq to Salim he made offerings.[66] When Ray Rayan was awarded the title of Bikramjit, he presented two elephants.[67] Nobles even when stationed away from the court and doing service at far off places would send offerings from the place of their posting. Muzaffar Khan, Governor of Bengal, sent rupees

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65. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:377.

66. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:257

67. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1239

five lakh, elephants and cloths to the emperor.[68] Khan-i-Azam sent some elephants and other rarities from Gujarat.[69] Qulij Khan sent 20 horses from Lahore.[70]

Presents offered by the nobles consisted of elephants, horses of quality, jewels and jewelled things, silken clothes, pearls, foodstuff, scents and gifts for dancing girls. Besides, these nobles would occasionally offer curious presents. For example, Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan presented a horse which could fight with an elephant.[71] Zain Khan presented a robe of black fox.[72] Nobles on visiting other countries would bring rarities from those parts of the world and present them to the emperor. Sultan Khwaja was appointed to the office of the command of the Haj. He went there and on his return presented Arab horses, slave girls and other rarities to the emperor.[73]

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68. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh,2:244
69. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:889
70. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1256
71. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, 2:353.
72. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1238
73. Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, The Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 2:516.

TABLE-5.3.1

PRESENTS GIVEN TO AKBAR

Sr. No.	Name	Year	Present	Sources
1	2	3	4	5
1	Sikandar Khan	1557 A.D.(a)	Valuable present including some choice elephants	A.N. 2/91, M.U.1/692.
		1565 A.D.(b)	Elephants called koh-para (a piece of a hill or mountain) and Saf-Shikan (rank or line breaker) etc. and other presents.	T.A.2/309.
2	Ambassador of Adbur-rashid Khan (Ruler of Kashghar)	1556 A.D.	Valuable gifts	A.N. 2/36.
3	Munimmad Qasim Khan and his follower	1564 A.D.	700 horses and mules	A.N. 2/345.
4	Ambassador of Miran Mubarik Shah (Ruler of Khandis)	1564 A.D.	Splended Presents.	A.N. 3/351.
5	Itimad Khan Gujarati	1567 A.D.	Gifts and presents	A.N.3/466.
6	Mahdi Qasim Khan	1568 A.D.	Iraqi horses and other things	A.N. 2/491-2.
7	Daud Afghan	1575 A.D.	Noted elephants and other rarities	A.N. 111/185, M.U.T.2/99,290.

1	2	3	4	5
8	Muzaffar Khan	1576 A.D.	Rupees five lakh, elephants and clothes	M.U.T. 2/246.
9	Mir Ali Sidoz	1577 A.D.	Presents HM accepted a portion of them.	A.N.3/328.
10	Birbal	1581 A.D.	Presents	A.N.3/511.
11	Shariff Khan Atka	1581 A.D.	Nine elephants, 27 Iraqi and Arab horses and various fabrics	T.A.2/539.
12	Raja Ram Chand	1583 A.D.	120 elephants, ruby of great value worth Rs. 50,000	A.N.3/636-7, T.A.2/595, M.U. 2/583.
13	Man Singh	1585 A.D.(a)	Rs.5500 cash,much clothes, 8 horses and 5 elephants	T.A. 2/597, M.U.2/50.
		1605 A.D.(b)	1000 muhurs and Rs. 12000 as presents	A.N.3/1256.
14	Qutlu Khan	1584 A.D.	60 choice elephants and other presents	A.N. 3/653.
15	Mirza Jani Beg	1585 A.D.(a)	Gifts and valuable presents	M.U.T.2/370, Tuzuk.1/71.
		1605 A.D.(b)	Choice presents	A.N.3/1257.

1	2	3	4	5
16	Qulij Khan	1585 A.D.	Presents	M.U.T. 2/377.
17	Raja of Kumaun	1585 A.D.	Rare presents, a yak and musk - deer	M.U.T. 2/377.
18	Sultan Khwaja	1585 A.D.	Various kind of Viands, and fabrics of Turkey and other European countries (Rumi Vafirangi), Abyssinian slaves and precious presents	T.A. 2/516.
19	Raja Ali Khan (Ruler of Khandesh)	1586 A.D.	150 Elephants	T.A. 2/600.
20	Abdulla Khan (Ruler of Turan)	1586 A.D.	Choice horses,Strong camels, Swift mules and choice postins.	A.N.3/735.
21	Khwaja Isa	1590 A.D.	150 Elephants and other choice articles	A.N.3/880.
22	Medni Rai	1590 A.D.	Deer and a leopard (YUZ)	A.N.3/881.
23	Rajas of Northern hill	1590 A.D.	18 elephants, 115 horses 205 hunting animals, hawks, falcon and yaks (Qatas). etc.	A.N.3/885.
24	Zain Khan Koka	1591 A.D.	(a) Choice elephants and other rarities of Gujarat	A.N.3/889, 911.

1	2	3	4	5
		1595 A.D.	(b) 170 elephants (onle some were accepted)	A.N.3/1044.
		1604 A.D.	(c) robe of black fox	A.N.3/1239.
25	Said Khan	1595 A.D.	100 elephants and other articles	A.N.3/1031.
26	Muzaffar Husain Mirza	1595 A.D.	One hundred Iraqi horse and other things	A.N.3/1030.
27	Wali Beg	1598 A.D.	22 choice elephants	A.N.3/1115.
28	Minuchir Beg (Persian Ambassador)	1598 A.D.	choice Iraq horses, choice mares (qisraq), one of which was valued at 5,000 rupees 300 piece of brocade, 50 master piece of Ghias Naqshband, a wonderful carpets, which cost in Persia 300 tumans a pair, choice coverlets (takyanamad), splendid paincas, Turkis pavilions, embroidered mattresses, various seeds, a goats and 500 Turkmans in rich dresses.	A.A. 3/1113.

1	2	3	4	5
29	Mirza Ali Beg yuzbashi	1598 A.D.	Choice horse and other presents	A.N. 3/1120.
30	Bahadur Khan	1599 A.D.	Choice presents	A.N. 3/1146.
31	Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan	1599 A.D.(a)	A horse which fought with an elephants	A.N. 3/1141.
		1599 A.D.(b)	Sets of presents among them 50 valuable diamonds	A.N. 3/1133.
32	Sultan Daniel	1599 A.D.(a)	Choice presents, 206 elephants, nine of which obtained a special rank	A.N. 3/1122.
		1602 A.D.(b)	A diamond, weighing 27 surkhas and a ruby weighing 4 masqals	A.N. 3/1224.
		1603 A.D.(c)	12 elephants and four lakhs of dams	A.N.3/1229, 31,34.
		1605 A.D.(d)	Elephants Gajpati and two other elephants	A.N. 3/1252.
33	Saadat Khan	1601 A.D.	15 noted Elephants	A.N. 3/1185.
34	Muhammad Quli	1603 A.D.	Twelve Swift horses	A.N. 3/1235.

1	2	3	4	5
35	Prince Salim	1603 A.D.(a)	12,000 muhurs and 977 Elephants (Only 350 was accepted)	A.N. 3/1230.
		1603 A.D.(b)	A diamond worth a lakh of rupees, 209 muhurs and 200 elephants	A.N. 3/1247.
		1605 A.D.(c)	One elephants	A.N. 3/1252.
36	S. Abdur Rahman	1603 A.D.	Three elephants, 4 swords of 7 strings of pearls and some ornamental vessels	A.N. 3/1231.
37	S. Farid Bakshi	1604 A.D.	5 valuable pearls, 4 rubies and an elephants	A.N. 3/1249.
38	Ray Rayan	1604 A.D.	two elephants	A.N. 3/1239, M.U. 1/412.
39	Qutbu-ul-Mulk (Ruler of Golconda)	1605 A.D.	30 elephants with gold and silver equipment	A.N. 3/1256.
40	Qulij Khan	1605 A.D.	20 horses	A.N. 3/1256.
41	Nurun Qulis	1605 A.D.	19 Elephants	A.N. 3/1256.

1	2	3	4	5
42	Hashim Khan	1605 A.D.	4 Elephants	A.N. 3/1256.
43	Jamalu-ddin Husain	1605 A.D.	Jewels	A.N. 3/1253.
44	Husain Qulij	1605 A.D.	20 horses	A.N. 3/1256.

5.4 ROYAL VISIT

Mughal kings very rarely visited their nobles even these rare visit were usually confined to those families which were in matrimonial alliance with royal house.[74] It was the highest honour which a noble could ever dreams of R.P.Khosla rightly observed that a visit of the emperor to any officers was always considered a matter of extraordinary favour and fortune and was a sound testimony of his prominence and influence.[75]

The visit of the emperor to the house of an amir was an honour to the latter and was always an occasion for him to make valuable presents. The emperor generally paid a casual visit to his favourite officers in the course of either his onward journey of his return from a journey. On these occasions the nobles threw extraordinarily large parties. The emperor would spend a day or two at such a feast and he and the courtiers accompanying him were entertained and offered presents. In May 1569 A.D. when Akbar was returning from Ajmer to Agra, he halted at Amber and enjoyed the splendid hospitality accorded by Bhagwan Das.[76] Again in November 1581 A.D. when emperor was returning from Kabul he honoured Bhagwan Das, then the

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74. P.N.Chopra, Life and Letters Under the Mughals (New Delhi: Ashajanak Publications, 1976), p.223.

75. R.P.Khosla, Administrative Structure of the Great Mughals, p.274.

76. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:496.

commander in chief of the Panjab army, with a visit to his residence at Lahore.[77] In the 15 regnal Year when the emperor arrived at Dipalpur he stayed for a few days with Khan Azam Aziz Koka. On the last day, splendid offerings were presented to him like Arab and Persian horses, with saddles of silver, huge elephants, with chains of gold and silver, housings of velvet and brocade, and gold and silver, pearls and jewels, and rubies and garnets of great price, chain of gold, and silver, vases and vessels of gold and silver, stuffs of Europe, Turkey and China and Other precious thing beyond all conceptions. Presents of similar kind were also offered to the young princes and Emperor's wives.

Once Zain Khan Koka entertained the emperor at his house. He covered a chabutra (terrace) with tus (goat hair) shawls which were very rare in those days and in front had three tanks one filled with water of yazd, another coloured with saffron and third with Argaja and put into them troops of dancing girls (Twaif) who were more than one thousand in number. He caused streams of milk and sugar mixed to flow and sprinkled rose water in place of water in courtyard. he filled baskets and decorated vessels with jewels and presented these as

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77. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:269.

peshkash alongwith noted elephants.[78] While returning from Deccan Akbar halted at the fort of Ranthambhor and participated in the grand reception arranged by Jagannath in honour of the royal visit.[79] Beside those, at the residence of Sharif Khan Atka, the emperor passed his time in listening to vocal and instrumental music etc. Mirza Khan held at grand feast in connection with his appointment as *ataliq* and on that occasion he invited the emperor to grace it by his presence. The numerous officers participated on the function. From the fort upon his residential place, flowers of gold and silver were showered and near his residence rubies were scattered. At the entrance Satin and velvet were spread on the ground to walk on. The emperor was so elated over the celebration that he bestowed on Mirza Khan a drum, a *charquali* a banner and all the insignia pertaining to a prince royal as mark of favour which were never given to ordinary officers. When the emperor left the residence, Mirza Khan gave away the precious dais to the people collected here.[80] As a mark of friendship and favour Akbar paid

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78. Nawab Shamshuddin Shahnawaz Khan, Maasir-ul-Uamra, 2:369-70.

79. Nawab Shamshuddin Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul-Uamra*, 2:724.

80. Nawab Shamshuddin Shahnawaz Khan, Maasir-ul-*Uamra*, 2:105

four royal visits to Birbal.[81] In 1584 A.D. Akbar glorified Todar Mal's house by his visit and the former in gratitude arranged a grand feast.[82]

Akbar not only honoured his officers, he also showed love and affection to them. Whenever an officers of his kith and kin died or was killed, Akbar as a token of his good gesture, personally went to the residence of the officers and as a consolation showered on him many favours in the form of titles, promotion, _jagirs_, grants of robe of honour and appointment. When Mota _Raja_ Udai Singh died, Akbar on July 23, 1595 A.D. himself went to his Haveli to pay a condolence visit and gave the _tika_ of Jodhpur to his son Suraj Singh and bestowed on him sixteen _parganas_[83] as _jagir_, a _mansab_ of 2000 _zat_ and 2000 _sawar_.[84] But when on account of his pressing engagements or other reason the emperor could not personally go to attend the condolence, he sent the royal prince or a top ranking officers with the consolatory letter and

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81. Nawab Shamshuddin Shahnawaz Khan, Maasir-ul-Uamra, 1:404; C.M.Agrawal, _Akbar and his Hindu Officers_, p.140. This was unique as no other officer had the favour of having more than two visits of the emperor. The repeated visits to Raja Birbal can be surely taken as a mark of special favour to his famous courtier, and goes in support of his great intimacy and closeness to the Emperor.

82. Abul Fazl, _Akbarnama_, 3:661

83. Nine parganas of Marwar, Four parganas of Gujarat, one pargana of Malwa, one _parganas_ of Deccan and one pargana of Mewar

84. V.S.Bhargava, _Marwar and Mughal emperor_, p.62.

compensatory awards when Bhagwan Das died in 1589 A.D. Akbar was much grieved and sent a letter of condolence to his son Man Singh through Prince Salim and conferred on him the title of Raja and sent him a Khilat.[85] He also got constructed a grand structure over his ashes in the royal cemetery.[86] On receiving the news of Birbal's death Akbar refrained for two days from eating and drinking and sent a letter of sorrow in praise of his loyalty.[87]

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85. Khwaja Nizamudin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari,2:410; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 2:372; Akbarnama,,3:570

86. A.L.Srivastava, Akbar the Great,1:339,357.

87. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:485; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,2:351.

TABLE-5.4.1

HM VISITS TO HOUSE OF NOBLES

Sr. No.	Name	Year	Occasion of visit	Sources
1	2	3	4	5
1	Bairam Khan	1557 A.D.	Marched of HM from Lahore to Delhi. Near Jallandhar he visited the house of Bairam khan on eve of his marriage with Salima Sultan Begam d/o Mirza Nuruddin Muhammad	T.A.2/224-25.
2	Munim Khan	1560 A.D.	HM Marched from Agra to Delhi. After defeat of Bairam his house given to Munim khan. On this occasion Munim arranged a feast and HM visited in this occasion to the house of Munim Khan	A.N.2/187-88.
3	Abdulla Khan	1561 A.D.	H.M. return from eastern Provinces to Agra. At Kalpi he on Abdulla Khan's request visited his house	A.N.2/228, T.A.2/256.

1	2	3	4	5
4	Adham Khan	1561 A.D.	HM expedition to Malwa, at Sarangpur he visited the house of Abdulla Khan	A.N.3/328.
5	Muhammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri	1564 A.D.	HM Expedition to Malwa, at Sarangpur he visited the quarter of Qasim khan on his request	A.N.2/345.
6	Bhagwan Das	1569 A.D.	HM was returning from Ajmer to Agra, he halted at Amber and visited the house of Bhagwan Das.	A.N.2/496.
7	Husain Quli Khan	1570 A.D.	HM Travelled from Dipalpur to Lahore at Lahore he passed a day and night in Husain quli Khan's House on his request	A.N.2/529, T.A.2/366.
8	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1570 A.D.	HM visited the house of Yusuf Khan.	A.N.2/517.
9	Khan Azim Mirza Koka	1571 A.D.	HM on his way Lahore to Delhi, at Dipalpur visited house of Khan Azim on request.	A.N.2/528,29, T.A.2/364, M.U.1/675,76.

1	2	3	4	5
10	Khan Kilan	1570-71 A.D.	HM expedition to Ajmer, at Nagor HM visited the house of Khan Kilan on request.	A.N.2/528-29, T.A.2/364, M.U.1/625-76.
11	Muzaffar Khan	1571 A.D.	HM on the way from Fathpur to Agra. At fathbad he visited the newly constructed house of Muzaffar Khan on request	A.N.2/531.
12	Itimad Khan	1573 A.D.	After victory of Gujarat, HM visited house of Itimad Khan	T.A.2/420.
13	Birbal	1574 A.D.	While marching to Allahabad HM paid royal visit to Birbal's house at Akbarpur	A.N.3/617.
14	Munim Khan Khan Khanan	1574 A.D.	After victory of Patna, HM alighted the quarters of Munim Khan	A.N.3/135.
15	Shaikh Farid BakshiBeg	1577 A.D.	Delhi was advent by HM to visit holy shrine. He also visited house of Shaikh Farid	A.N.3/322.

1	2	3	4	5
16	Mihir Ali Sildoz	1577 A.D.	HM hunting in the neighbourhood of Hisar and there he also visited the house of sildoz	A.N.3/328.
17	Naryan Das	1577 A.D.	Expedition of HM to the Panjab. At Mahrot he visited the house a Narayan Das (brother of Rupsi)	A.N.3/310.
18	Bhagwan Das	1581 A.D.	After defeat of Mirza Hakim HM returned from Kabul to India and at Lahore visited the hose of Bhagwan Das, (the commander-in-chief of Punjab)	A.N.3/546.
19	Sharif Khan Atka	1581 A.D.	HM visited house of Sharif Khan	T.A.2/539.
20	Mathura Das	1581 A.D.	HM visited the old Pilgrimage of Mathura. HM at request of Mathura Das (one of chosen servant) glorified his house by advent.	A.N.3/547.
21	Mirza Yusuf Khan	1581 A.D.	HM visited the Shrine of Balnath Tillah near Rohtas. From there he was invited by Yusuf to visit him	A.N.3/514.

1	2	3	4	5
22	Mirza Khan	1583 A.D.	A grand feast held in connection with appointment of Mirza Khan as ataliq. HM also attended the feast at Mirza Khan's house	A.N. 3/583.
23	Birbal	1583 A.D.	HM had ordered the erection of stone places for Birbal at Fatehpur Sikri, when it was finished, he arranged splendid feast and HM graciously attended it.	A.N.3/587.
24	Birbal	1584 A.D.	HM attended splended feast at Birbal residence	A.N.3/657.
25	Birbal	1584 A.D.	HM again honoured him by accepting a feast at his residence	A.N.3/657-58.
26	Todar Mal	1584 A.D.	HM glorified Todar Mal's house by visit	A.N.3/661.
27	Shaikh Farid Bakshi Begi	1585 A.D.	HM visited Tombs of saints at Delhi. He also visited the house of the Shaikh Farid	A.N.3/705.

1	2	3	4	5
28	Raja Bhagwan Das	1585 A.D.	Bhagwan Das's daughter marriage with price Salim, Akbar personally visited the hoeue of Raja Bhagwan Das.	A.N.3/748.
29	Rai Singh	1586 A.D.	HM visited the residence of Rai Singh, where prince Salim's second marriage was being solemnised with the former's daughter.	A.L.Srivastva, 1/330.
30	Zain Khan Koka	1591 A.D.	HM visited the Quarters of Zain Khan	A.N.3/937.
31	Askaran	1592 A.D.	HM visited the house of Raja Askaran to pay condolence when his son was killed in a family fued.	A.N.3/606.
32	Askaran	1592 A.D.	HM visited the house of Raja Askaran to pay condolence when his son was killed in a family feud	A.N. 3/606.

1	2	3	4	5
33	Qulij Khan	1593 A.D.	Marriage feast of Daniel and daughter of Qulij was arranged, Qulij Khan request HM to visit his house which was gratified	A.N.3/995.
34	Rai Rai Singh	1593 A.D.	HM visited the hosue of Rai Rai Singh and by heartfelt sympathy soothed his grief because his daughter tried to burn herself after death of her husband.	A.N.3/985.
35	Zain Khan Koka	1595 A.D.	HM visited the house of Zain Koka at his request	A.N.3/1045.
36	Suraj Singh s/o Udai Singh	1595 A.D.	HM paid condolence visit when Udai Singh died.	V.S.Bhargwa. 62
37	Mir Murad	1597 A.D.	HM third expedition to Kashmir, at Bhimbar he visited the house of Mir-Murad	A.N.3/1082.
38	Arjun Kur (Kuru)	1598 A.D.	HM visited the house of Arjun Kur. His forefathers had been , one after the other, the leader of the Bhraman Caste.	A.N.3/1115.

1	2	3	4	5
39	Abu Said	1598 A.D.	HM halted at Sirhind Abu Said collectors house was glorified by HM.	A.N.3/1116.
40	Mirza Aziz Koka	1599 A.D.	HM glorified the quarter of Mirza Koka.	A.N.3/1120.
41	Mirza Khan	1599 A.D.	HM expedition to Deccan, at Malwa, he also visited the house of Mirza Khan.	A.N.3/1141.
42	Jagannath	———	While returning from the Deccan. Akbar paid a visit to house of Jagannath at Ranthambhor	A.N.1/724.

CHAPTER-6

CHIEFTAINS AS JAGIRDARS

The muslim conquerors of India realized quite early that it was impossible for them to exterminate the numerous Indian Chiefs whose possessions were generally scattered all over India, but very often in the comparatively inaccessible regions of Northern and central India. There were in addition, many chiefs who were able to maintain a state of considerable autonomy.

6.1. DEFINITION OF ZAMINDARS

When Babur conquered Hindustan he found many principalities which had been subordinated by the Sultan of Delhi and innumerable others which never been effectively subdued. When Akbar ascended the throne, India had numerous principalities held by autonomous and semi-autonomous rulers. These hereditary rulers were known by various names such as rajas, ranas, rais, rawat, etc. The contemporary and near contemporary documents and persian chronicles refer to them as zamindars and marzbans.

Akbar's first objective was to consolidate his control over the whole country. He did not intend, however, to wipe out all the smaller states and principalities which existed at that time. Akbar realized

the need of leaving these rulers in command of their respective territories. This was important if his empire was to have firm foundations. Substantial portions of the Mughal empire remained under the rule of traditional chiefs and never came under direct Mughal administration.

A two-fold division of chiefs has been made by A.R.Khan in his study of chieftains in Akbar's region.[1] On the one hand there were the chiefs whom our chronicles whenever they refer to them identify with their principalities, for example, while referring to the chief of Bhimbar, Jammu, Mao and Kumaon etc. they talked of "Jalal Khan, the Zamindar of Bhimbar", Kapoor Chand raja of Jammu",' Bakhtmal, the zamindar of Mau" and "Raja Rudra Chand, the marzban of Kumaon". Thus specifically mentioning the territories they ruled". On the other hand there were the chiefs whom the chronicles generally identify with their clan, for example when they refer to the Sodha and Baloch they refer to them as "ranayan-i-Sodha (the chiefs of the Sodhas)", "the kalantaran Baloch (the elder/leader of the Baloches)", or as "Saran-i-alus-i-Baloch (the commanders of the Baloch tribe)", thus emphasizing upon the clan and not the territory.[2]

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1. A.R.Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar (Shimla:Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1977), pp.1-3.

2. A.R.Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar, p.2.

The chieftains, irrespective of the category they fell into, were an important element in Medieval Indian Polity. They controlled considerable economic resources and were also militarily powerful. When Babur attempted to established himself in India he found that about one-sixth of its total revenues was derived from the territories of the chiefs.[3] Each of these rajas or zamindar commanded an army of his own, generally consisting of his clansmen. The total number of chieftains troops, as Abul Fazl tells us, stood at forty four lakhs.[4]

The Professor S.Nural Hasan in his article, "The position of the Zamindars in the Mughal empire" has divided these zamindars into three broad categories, (a) The autonomous chieftains, (b) the intermediary zamindar, and (c) the primary zamindar.[5] The zamindar of the first category are the main concern of this chapter. This categories of chiefs were subordinate to Mughal imperialism, which always sought to convert them into mere tax-gatherers. A large number of such chief were made part of the Mughal administrative structure by conferring mansabs upon them. They functioned in many important

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3. Babur, Baburnama, 2:520-21.

4. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:120.

5. S.Nural Hasan, 'The Position of the Zamindars in the Mughal empire', Indian Economic and Social History Review, vol.i, No.4,(1964):107-110.

administrative position under Akbar. The Mughal rulers reserved the legal right to recognize the successor of a deceased raja.

6.2 CHIEFTAINS AND JAGIRS

As a result a chieftain was dependent on the goodwill of the emperor rather than on his inherent rights, they also pursued the policy of entering into direct relationship with the vassals of some of the bigger chieftains, thus reducing the power of these chieftain's and attempted to treat the hereditary dominion of the autonomous chiefs a special type of jagir untransferable and hereditary, known in official terminology as a watan, which meant that theoretically they were supposed to have the status of jagirdars. The practice was to summarily assess the total revenue of a territory at some figure, and then assign to its ruler ranks the sanctioned pay for which would be equal to that figure. If the jama figure of the watan is an excess over his pay in that case chieftains prayed either their ranks be increased to cover this excess, or the figure be reduced (so that no part of it might be assigned to anyone else in jagir).[6] When a chieftains mansab was increased and the salary he was entitled to exceeded the jama of his watan, he was given an additional jagir to match the increased. In some cases the emperor

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6. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of the Mughal empire, p.184; Moreland, Agrarian system of Moslem India, p.267.

even assigned the territory of the chieftains (without deposing them from their principalities) to the noble as jagirs.

In this way Akbar succeeded in compelling the autonomous chiefs to conform to imperial regulations, especially in regard to the maintenance of law and order and the freedom of transit, as well as, claimed the right to dispense justice to those who appealed to the imperial government against their chiefs. Akbar settled and organized the subordinate chiefs in a rational and scientific basis and setup a very elaborate system of protocol. Within the territorial limits of the Mughal empire under Akbar, "a large number of principalities ruled over by chieftains of varying stature ranging from the powerful potentates of Kangra, Kumaon, Kutch, Mewar, Bhatta, Garh, Cooch-Bihar and Bhatti to the lesser potentates like the Bhadauriya and Chauhan chiefs of suba Agra and the Afghan chief of Jalor in suba Ajmer, who appeared to have ruled in their territories with as much autonomy as the former".[7]

6.3. CHIEFTAINS AND MANSAB

Now we discuss the chieftains who after their submission were granted mansab. As mansabdars, they were expected to

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7. A.R.Khan, Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar, p.206.

render military service to the Mughal whenever and wherever required. But they also enjoyed the benefits accruing out of the mansabdari system, i.e. they were sometimes granted handsome jagirs, in addition to their hereditary domions, in different part of the Mughal empire. The paucity of evidence prevents us from working out the exact value of the jagirs granted to individual chiefs holding mansab, and compare it with the jama (assessed revenue) of their hereditary dominion, it appears that in the case of the chiefs holding high mansabs, the jagirs granted to them were richer in resources and extensive in area than their hereditary dominions. This is evident at least in the case of the Hada chief, Surjan, the Rathore chief of Bikaner and the Kachhawas as a whole, whose hereditary domaions, were not exceptionally rich and consisted of a couple of parganas. As mansabdars, they could obtain large and very productive jagirs.

6.4 CHIEFTAINS AS SUBA WISE JAGIRDARS

The suba of Kabul was the north-western most suba of the Mughal empire. To the south-west of Kashmir valley was the principality of Rajauri. It first came into the contact with the Mughals on the eve of the Mughal invasion of Kashmir. Mast Khan, who was then the ruler of Rajauri, is believed to have accompanied the Mughal forces on their

way to conqueror Kashmir.[8] For the assistance rendered by Raja of Rajauri in the conquest of Kashmir he, "was rewarded with a khilat and a jagir of Rs.50,000 value in Kashmir which he held in whole of part till the extinction of the states.[9] Four of Kashmir chiefs, Sultan Husain of Pakli, Shah Rukh Mirza of Damtaur, Shamshi Chak and Shamsi Duni were given mansab after their submission to the Mughal.[10]

In suba Lahore (in sarkar Sindh Sagar Doab) the Gakkhars chiefs Adam Khan was the most powerful chief. During Akbar's reign after the defeat of Adam Khan, his nephew Kamal Khan Gakkhar become the chief of the Gakkhars country. Kamal Khan continued to serve the emperor loyalty. In the 9th R.Y.(1564-65) he assisted the Mughal forces dispatched to remove Mirza Sulaiman from Kabul. The purpose was to place Mirza Hakim in his stead.[11] Two years later he was assigned the task of rehabilitating the people of the frontier country and help them to overcome their fear of the Kabulis as a result of Mirza Hakaim's invasion of the Panjab.[12] For this active role Kamal Khan

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8. Hutchinson & Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, (Lahore: 1933), 2:640

9. Hutchinson & Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, 2:640.

10. See details in A.R.Khans, 'Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar, pp.229-237.

11. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:361-62.

12. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:348.

was granted the jagirs of Kara, Fatehpur and Hanswa.[13] A number of other Gakkhar chiefs, and the relatives of Kamal Khan, including his brother, Said Khan received mansab. Presumable they must also have received jagirs as well.[14]

It may be noted that out of the large number of the chiefs of suba Lahore only the Gakkhars and Raja Basu of Mau were given mansabs as well as jagirs. Some of seven chieftains of suba Lahore were granted mansab. But military service was demanded from the other chiefs also. In suba Multan only one chieftains Mirza Jani Beg was given Thatha as jagir by the Mughal emperor. The only other chief in suba Multan who was given a mansab was a Baloch chief Pahar Khan, who also held in the 26th year the Ghazipur as jagir.[15]

The suba of Gujarat was among the richest province of the Mughal empire. A large part of India's foreign trade was conducted through the ports of Gujarat. For this suba we have references to two chieftains who were given jagirs. They were Miyan Khan, the son and successor of Daulat Khan who was the ruler of Junagarh. In 1591 A.D. Miyan Khan accepted Mughal suzreignty along with his brothers. All of them were assigned jagir in Tankhawaha (1592 A.D.)[16] In 1592-93 A.D. the Kathi chief, Lamba

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13. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:119

14. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:299.

15. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari,1:593-4.

16. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:948-49.

Kathi also received a jagir, upon his submission to the Mughals.[17] The chief of Baglana Raja Partap too accepted Mughal dominance and a mansab was granted to him.[18]

Suba Ajmer represented an area of much strategic importance for any Delhi or Agra based empire, because it provided a convenient passage to the rich province of Gujarat. Mewar which was located on this route to Gujarat was an extremely powerful Kingdom until the first quarter of the sixteenth century. After the battle of Haldighati, the emperor succeeded in winning over his side Jagmal and Sakit Singh, the brothers of Rana Partap, and Rai Durga sisodia of Rampura, a vessal chief of Mewar. All of them were made mansabdars and granted jagirs. The specific reference to the actual jagir is found only with regard to Jagmal who was given Jahazpur[19] and later on half of Sirohi in tiyul.[20]

To the North-east of Chittor was situated the country known as Dhundahar. That area was under the control of the Kachhawa clan. Baharimal was the first ruler of this clan to submit to Akbar. His son Bhagwan Das and grandson Man Singh and a large number of relatives

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17. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:949

18. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1152.

19. Kaviraj Shyamal Das, Vir Vinod, (Udaipur: 1886), p.146; Gauri Shahankar Ojha, Rajputana Ka Itihas, (Ajmer: 1932), Vol.1, part II, p.424.

20. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:614; Nainsi, Khyat, 1:131-32.

received *mansabs* and *jagirs* in different parts of the Mughal empire. The details regarding the role played by them has already been mentioned in earlier chapters and need not be repeated here.

It must be admitted, however, that in instances related to Mewar the references are to the relatives of the rulers rather than the actual ruler himself becoming a *jagirdar*. Even with regard to the Kachhawas the greater part of the information pertains to the relatives of the chieftains even though the latter himself was very much a member of the *mansabdari* system.

Some part of *suba* Ajmer was controlled by the Hada Rajputs. In 1569-70 A.D. Surjan Hada submitted along with his son. They were both probably granted *jagirs*. Rai Surjan Hada is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as holding a *mansab* of two thousand. According to Nainsi, at the time of his submission he was given four *parganas* of Chunar.[21] Later on he was also assigned Garh (Katanga) in *jagir* which he continued to hold till the 20th year (1575-76 A.D.)[22] According to *Vamsha Bhaskar*, he was granted 26 *parganas* near Banaras.[23] His son Bhoj, according to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, held a *mansab* on nine hundred. Both Surjan

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21. Nainsi, Khyat, 1:111.

22. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:223

23. A.R.Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar*, p.106. Also mentioning Surjan Hada as jagirdar of Garli.

Hada and his son Bhoj served the Mughals in different part of the empire.

Another powerful chiefship of _suba_ Ajmer was Marwar. After establishing firm control over the area around Jodhpur the emperor gave the territory to Mota _Raja_ Udai Singh,[24] the second son of Maldeo in 1583 A.D. He also granted him Siwana and Sojat as _jagir_. He was also assigned Satalmer and Pokhran, but was unable to establish his authority over them. His _jagirs_ was valued at Rs.3,16,175.[25]

Bikaner was another important chieftaincy of _suba_ Ajmer. Kalyan Mal the ruler of Bikaner find mention in the Mughal chronicles in the 5th year of Akbar's reign (1560-1 A.D.) when he provided refuge to Bairam Khan in his rebellion against the emperor.[26] As Jetaran, Merta, Jodhpur, Chittor and Ranthambhor fell to Mughal arms. Kalyan Mal was compelled to wait upon the emperor at Nagaur in 1570 A.D. along with his son Rai Singh.[27] Both Kalyan Mal and Rai Singh were made mansabdars of 2000 _zat_ and 4000 _zat_ respectively.[28] Rai Singh's son Dalpat

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24. Abul Fazl, _Ain-i-Akbari_,1:475; _Virvinod_,3:815,817.

25. Munhot Nainsi, _Marwar ra Pargana ri Vigat_, 2 vols. (Jodhpur: 1968-9), 1:83

26. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:159.

27. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 2:518-19.

28. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari,1:384-85.

received a *mansab* of 500 *zat*.[29] Because of his exceptional services Rai Singh was granted *jagirs* liberally in different parts of the empire. He was quite early assigned Nagaur, Sirsa, Marot and a number of other *pargana*.[30] During the 25th regnal year (1580-1 A.D.) he held *jagirs* in the Panjab.[31] Later he was given the *pargana* a Bhatner (Suba Delhi), Niryad, Shamsabad (Suba Agra) and Nurpur.[32] He is also said to have held Sojat and Merta.[33]

In northern hill areas of *suba* Delhi, an important chief was Rudra Chand. In the year of 1581-82 A.D. he submitted and later given a few *pargana* as his jagir[34]

In *Suba* Allahabad *Raja* Ram Chand the Baghela ruler of Bhatta was quite important. In the 14th year of Akbar rule (1569-70 A.D.), Akbar ordered the imperial functionaries in the east to launch an assault against Kalinjar which was held by *Raja* Ram Chand. Kalinjar was besieged,[35] *Raja* Ram Chand finally surrendered the fort

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29. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, 1:386.
30. Dashratha Sharma, (ed.), *Dalpat Vilas*, (Bikaner: 1956), pp.22-23.
31. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*,3:546.
32. A.R.Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar*, p.117.
33. Dashrath Sharma, Dalpat Vilas, pp.30,41-42.
34. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,3:818.
35. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:499

and offered a valuable peshkash to emperor.[36] An imperial farman was subsequently issued which granted the pargana of Arail and the territory around it as jagir to the raja[37] From Suba Allahabad it appear that Raja Ram Chand may have been the only chieftain to be granted a jagir.

In suba Bengal we have specific reference to only one chieftain being granted jagir in addition to his watan jagir. However mansabs, it appears were given to a total of four chieftains. They were Raja Ram Chand of Khurda, Adwand of Al, Sunder of Pattia and Nilkanth. The ruler who was definitely granted a jagir was Raja Ram Chand of Khudra in Orissa. His watan consisted of seventy-one forts.[38] In the 37th regnal year (1592-3 A.D.) he was forced by the imperial army into submitting. He sent his so, Birbal, with a peshkash to the Mughal commander Raja Man Singh.[39] In the Ain-i-Akbari Ram Chand's name is mentioned as a mansabdar of 500 zat. The mahals of Rahang, Limbai, Pursottam and Chatter were also assigned to him out of the khalisa.[40]

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36. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,2:499-500.

37. Abdul Qadir Badauni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,2:124.

38. A.R.Khan, Chieftains of the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar, p.196.

39. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,3:940-41.

40. Andrew Sterling, Orissa: its Geography, Statistics, History, Religion and Antiquities, (London: 1846), p.69.

It is important to emphasize that Akbar's success in dealing with the traditional rulers of the country lay in his ability to make them realize that their position in their domains depended upon his favour. There were instances when he even granted the areas of these chiefs, without deposing them from their principalities to his own noble as jagir[41]

We also have noticed in numerous references, when Akbar deposed the chieftains and after confiscation of their territory, it was assigned as jagirs to other royal nobles. In 1589 A.D. after the flight of the chief of Pakli from the imperial camp, the emperor assigned Pakli as tiyul to one of his nobles, Husain Beg Shaikh Umari.[42] In the 18th regnal year (1573-74), the chieftaincy of Nagarkot, was assigned by the emperor as jagir to Raja Birbal.[43] Salim Khan, the chief of Bhimbar was deposed and later we noticed the Mir Murad and Hamza Arab as jagirdar of Bhimbar.[44] In the 41st year (1596-97 A.D.) when Raja Basu of Mau revolted for the third time, Paithan, a part of his territory, was conferred by the emperor upon Mirza Rustam as his jagir[45] In 47th year

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41. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p.185.

42. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:855

43. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:51.

44. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama,3:764,908,1082.

45. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:1060.

(1602-3 A.D.) chieftaincy of Samba was put under the charge of Husain Beg and fort of Guler was entrusted to Ram Das Kachhawa.

In some instances we also notice temporary resumption of the territory of the chief to Khalisa and to their being assigned to others as jagirs. But after some times, when the chieftain again become faithful to emperor, their territory was restored to them. The Jodhpur after its conquest in (1563-4 A.D.) remained for 20 years in Khalisa, but latterly it was given back to old ruling house. Jalor was also taken for sometime from its chief Ghazni Khan, and assigned as Iqta to another person (1585-86 A.D.). After five years it was, however, restored to Ghaznin Khan.[46]

Akbar's mansabdari and the jagirdari system made it possible for him to bring the chieftains under Mughal control. A.R.Khan, "Came across the name of 61 persons belonging to various ruling house holding mansabs under Akbar at one time or the other. It is significant that 40 out of 61 mansabdars belong to the ruling family of suba Ajmer alone, while the remaining came from the rest of the Mughal empire. Out of this 18 mansabdars who were given jagir in addition to their watan. The six out of 18 were

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46. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:875; For some more references of this category see, Akbarnama, 2:305,405-6; 3:223,295,614, 655, 875, 1208.

from Ajmer."[47]

It is very likely that most of the rich and well populated lands fell to imperial control. Yet it has to be admitted that the territory ruled by the large number of smaller rulers scattered all over the empire was by no means small. Despite the centralized nature of administration of the Mughal empire, there existed innumerable smaller rulers. Many of them, however, were reduced at least technically to the status of salaried officials. It was the more loyal, of these who were granted jagirs in addition to their own territories.

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47. A.R.Khan, Chieftains of the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar, p.207.

Table 6.5

LIST OF THE CHIEFS AND THEIR KINSMEN GRANTED MANSAB, JAGIRS AND ADMINISRATIVE ASSIGNMENT UNDER AKBAR

Sr. No.	Name of Person Granted Mansab	Chieftains Rulling House	Relationship with Ruling house	Jagir of Chieftains	Administrative Assignment	Mansab According To Ain-i-Akbari
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SUBA KABUL						
1	Sultan Husain Pakiwal	Pakli	The chief of Pakli	---------	---------	300
2	Mast Khan	Rajauri	The Raja of Rajauri	Jagir of 50,000 value	---------	---------
3	Sharukh Husain Mirza	Damtaur	The Chief of Damtaur	---------	---------	200
4	Shamsi Chak	Kamraj/chaks	Chief of Kamraj	---------	---------	---------
5	Shamsi Duni	-----do------	-----do------	---------	---------	---------
SUBA LAHORE						
6	Jalal Khan	Gakkhars	s/o Muhammad Khan s/o Adam Khan Gakkhars	---------	---------	900
7	Kamal Khan Gakkhar	-----do------	The Gakkhars Chief	Karah,Fatehpur and Hanswah	---------	5000 (Tabaqat)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	Mubarak Khan	-----do------	s/o Kamal Khan	---------	---------	900
9	Nazr Beg Khan	-----do------	s/o Saeed Khan	---------	---------	500
10	Saeed Khan	-----do------	b/o Kamal Khan	---------	---------	1500 (Tabaqat)
11	Shah Muhammad	-----do------	s/o Saeed Khan	---------	---------	250
12	Raja Basu	Mau	the Chief of Mau	---------	---------	1500 (Tuzuk)
13	Raja Kapoor	Jammu	Raja of Jammu	<u>Jagir</u>	---------	---------
<u>MULTAN</u>						
14	Pahar Khan	Baloches	A baloch chief	Ghazipur	---------	200
<u>GUJARAT</u>						
15	Pratap	Baglana	The chief of Baglana	---------	---------	3000 (A.N. 3/771)
16	Miyam Khan	Junagarh	The chief of Junagarh	<u>Jagir</u>	---------	---------
17	Lamba Kathi	Kathi	Kathi Chief	<u>Jagir</u>	---------	---------

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
AJMER						
18	Sakra	Mewar/Sisodias	b/o Rana Pratap The chief of Mewar	_Jagir_	---------	200
19	Rai Durga Sisodia	-------do---------	The chief old Rampura, a vassalage of Mewar	_Jagir_	_Khalisa_ Administration, amir in Suba Ajmer	1500
20	Jagmal	Mewari/Sisodias	b/o Rana Pratap, The chief of Mewar	Jahazpur and half of Sirohi	---------	---------
21	Rai Surjan Hada	Hadas	The chief of Bundi	Jagir four parganas of Chunar, Garh (Katanga), 26 parganas near Bundi,26 parganas near Banaras	Governor of Garha-Katanga	2000
22	Rai Bhoj	-------do---------	Son & Successor of Surjan Hada	---------	---------	900
23	Ghazni Khan	Jalor	The cheif of Jalor	---------	---------	400
24	Mota Raja Udai Singh	Marwar	The chief of Marwar	Siwana,Sojat, Satalmer and Pokhran. (Total Value : Rs. 316175.)	---------	1000

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	Sur Singh	Marwar	Son and Successor of Mota Raja	--------- (Total value Rs. 316175)	---------	---------
26	Keau Das Rathore	-------do---------	A grandson of Maldeo	---------	---------	200
27	Keau Das	-------do---------	s/o Jaimal of Merta	---------	Diwan of Agra	300
28	Rai Kalyan Mal	Bikaner	The chief of Bikaner	---------	---------	2000
29	Rai Rai singh	-------do---------	Son and successor of Rai Kalyan Mal	Nagaur,Sirsa Marot,in Panjab Pargana of Bhatner, Niryad Shamsabad Nurpur,Sojat, and Merta	Charge of Jodhpur amir in Suba Lahore	4000
30	Dalpat	-------do---------	Son and successor of Rai Rai Singh	---------	---------	500
31	Rawal Bhim	Jaisalmer	The Bhoti chief of Jaisalmer	---------	---------	500
32	Raja Askaran	Kachhawas	b/o Raja Bharmal of Amber	---------	Look after to the property of deceased, amir of Agra	3000 (Tabaqat)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	Bahao Singh	-------do---------	s/o Raja Man Singh	---------	---------	7000/500 (50th year) A.N. 3/1253.
34	Banka Kachhawa	Kachhawas	-----------	---------	---------	400
35	Raja Bhagwan Das	-------do---------	Son and successor of Raja Bharmal	Jagir in Suba Punjab and Bihar	Amir of Lahore, amir of Kabul	5000
36	Raja Bharmal	-------do---------	The Kachhawas chief of Amber	---------	Wazir-i-Mutlaq	5000
37	Durjan Singh	-------do---------	s/o Raja Man Singh	---------	---------	500
38	Himmat Singh	-------do---------	s/o Raja Man Singh	---------	---------	200
39	Raja Jagannath	-------do---------	s/o Raja Bharmal	Jagir in Punjab and in Ranth--ambhor	Care of armoury and communication, a of Suba Ajmer	2500
40	Jagat Singh	-------do---------	S/O Raja Man Singh	---------	Naib of Bengal	900
41	Jagmal	-------do---------	B/O Raja Bharmal	---------	Governor of Mirtha	1000
42	Kala Kachhawa	-------do---------	---------	---------	---------	200
43	Raja Khangar	-------do---------	S/O Jagmal	---------	---------	2000 (Tabaqat)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44	Rai Lonkaran Shaikhawat of Sambhar	--------do----------	The Shaikhawat chief of Sambhar	----------	Care of armoury and communication	2000 (Tabaqat)
45	Madho Singh	--------do----------	s/o Bhagwan Das	----------	----------	1500
46	Maha Singh	--------do----------	s/o Jagat Singh	----------	----------	2000/300 A.N.3/1257.
47	Raja Man Singh	--------do----------	Son and Successor of Raja Bhagwan Das	Jagir in Punjab and Bihar	Amir of Kabul, Governor of Bihar	5000
48	Man Singh Kachhawa	--------do----------	----------	----------	----------	300
49	Pratap Singh	--------do----------	s/o Bhagwan Das	----------	----------	200
50	Rai Manohar Shaikhawat	--------do----------	s/o Rai Lonkaran	----------	----------	400
51	Rai Sal Darbari Shaikhawat	--------do----------	A Chief of the Shaikhawat	----------	----------	1250
52	Raja Raj Singh	--------do----------	s/o Raja Askran	----------	Commandant of Gwaliyar	900
53	Ram Chand Kachhawa	--------do----------	----------	----------	----------	400
54	Ram Das Kachhawa	--------do----------	The Kachhawa chief of Neota	----------	Incharge of Khalisa and Diwan of Gujarat	500

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55	Rupsi of Daosa	-------do---------	b/o Bharmal	---------	---------	1000
56	Sabal Singh	-------do---------	s/o Raja Man Singh	---------	---------	500
57	Sakat Singh	-------do---------	s/o Raja Man Singh	---------	---------	400
58	Silhadi	-------do---------	b/o Bharmal	---------	---------	400
AGRA						
59	Ram Chand s/o Raja Madhukar Bundela	Orcha	The chief of orcha	---------	---------	500
60	Rai Mukand Bhadauriya	Bhadauriyas	A Bhadauriya Chief	---------	---------	500
61	*Raja Bikramjit Bhadauriya*	Bhadauriyas	Nephew of Rai Mukand Bhadauriya	---------	---------	---------
ALLAHABAD						
62	Raja Ram Chand Bhagela	Bhatta	The chief of bhatta	Pargana of Arail	---------	200
BENGAL						
63	Raja Ram Chand Nikanth	Orissa	The *chief of* Khurda/Orissa	Mahals of Rahang, Limbai, Pursottam and Chatter	---------	500

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64	Adwand	Al	The chief of Al.	---------	---------	200
65	Sunder	Pattaih (Sarangarh)	The chief of Pattaih	---------	---------	200

CHAPTER-7

CONCLUSION

It is quite possible that the uncertainty of the early years of his reign made it clear to Akbar that he would have to found his kingdom on a sound administrative base. He inherited from Humayun, Delhi and some tracts of Panjab. Delhi was lost shortly afterwards to Hemu, who a little later posed a threat even to Akbar's occupations in Panjab. This caused panic in the camp of Akbar and many nobles around him began to clamour for going back to Kabul to replenish their military power. However, Bairam Khan's bold decision to face the challenge rather than falling back changed the complex of the situation, the resultant battle of Panipat saved the Mughals. Hemu was caught and executed, Delhi and Agra fell to Akbar.

The establishment, subsequently, of a firm system of governance required the efficient management of land revenue, and its effective utilization under different heads. Out of the entire _jama_ of the empire, the share of _suyurghal_ was at best a mere 3.4 percent[1], while the major part of it was alienated in the form of territorial revenue assignments (_jagirs_) to _mansabdars_. The remainder

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1. Shireen Moosvi, _The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c.1595_, p.159.

belonged to the *Khalisa*, where the revenue was collected directly for the imperial treasury. Even out of the *jama* of the *khalisa*, a portion must have again been claimed by such mansabdars as were designated *naqdi*.[2] The imperial establishment was financed mainly out of the balance of the *khalisa* revenues.

Keeping in view the division of the *jama* under the heads of *jagir* and *khalisa*, we can fix a minimum limit of the expenses incurred on the nobles salaries; since *jagirs* were given in lieu of salaries, the portion of *jama* set aside as representing for *jagirs* was the minimum level of the share of revenue alienated to nobles. The actual amount disbursed on salaries was probably larger. This was because many of the nobles also received cash salaries from the *khalisa* revenues.

Unfortunately, the extent of *khalisa* or *jagirs* is not easy to calculate. In the 31st regnal year Akbar remitted one-sixth of the *jama* of the *khalisa* in the provinces of Awadh, Allahabad and Delhi. This remission amounted to 4.05, 60.596 *dams*.[3] The total *khalisa* in these provinces then works out to 24,33,63,576. The combined *jama* of these provinces as given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* is 1,01,43,52,077 *dams*[4] Here the *jama* of the

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2. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707, p.258.

3. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:749.

4. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, 2: 171, 184, 290.

khalisa was about 23.99 percent of the total jama.[5] It is not necessary that the extent of the khalisa in all the provinces was the same i.e. 23.99 percent. Nevertheless, the three provinces considered may be quite representative of the general situation because they excluded Agra and Lahore where the khalisa was perhaps larger, as well as such provinces as Bengal, Ajmer and Bihar, where it was probably smaller.[6]

In the references of jagir in our sources are by no means very detailed and we cannot calculate the exact amount of the jagirs allotted to the nobles nor the total area or revenue that was set aside under the head of khalisa. Nevertheless, some general argument can be put forward. The Jesuit accounts, suggest that 'for all the kingdoms and provinces which he °Akbar§ conquers he holds as his own, appointing his captains over them. From these he takes a third portion of the revenues, the reminder being for their personal needs, and the maintenance of the soldiers, horses, and elephants which each of them is bound to keep'. If this statement is taken at face value then it would mean that the jagirs normally accounted for two-thirds of the jama and the khalisa for a third.

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5. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian system of Mughal India, p.272; Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of the Mughal Empire c.1595, p.196-7.

6. Akbar and Jesuits, tr. C.H.Payne, pp.5-6. Shireen Moosvi, The Economy of The Mughal Empire c.1595, p.197-8.

This rather limited evidence seems to suggest that during Akbar's reign the khalisa constituted anything between 24 per cent and 33 per cent of the total jama. The jagirs then would be between 67 and 76 per cent.[7] According to Shireen Moosvi this would mean a lower estimate of 2,65,34,192 dams for payment of salaries, and an upper estimate of 1,30,69,079 dams for expense on the imperial establishment.[8] The actual expenses in the latter case were probably smaller because some of the nobles were also paid in cash from the khalisa revenues.

It is by now quite clear that the larger number of mansabdars of the Akbar received their pay in the form of assignment of area of land from which they were entitled to collect the land revenue and the other taxes imposed or sanctioned by the emperor. These assignment were known as

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7. Shireeen Moosvi, The Economy of The Mughal Empire c.1595, p.197; Moreland, throughout the Akbar period, the great bulk of the empire, sometimes seven-eighths of the whole, was in the hand of assignees. The Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.93.

8. Shireeen Moosvi, The Economy of The Mughal Empire, c.1595, p.197.

jagirs and tiyuls,[9] (though sometimes the term Iqta,[10] was used in the time of Delhi Sultans). The author of Mirat-al-Istilah suggests that the term tiyul was originally used for the assignment held by princes of royal blood and jagir for other mansabdars, but at least in the time of Akbar, the term tiyul was indifferently used for all assignments. Some modern scholars[11] have argued that in the reign of Akbar from the 19th R.Y. to 20th Regnal Year the so called assignment system (jagir) was abandoned and the empire was put under direct administration (Khalisa). But a fresh examination of sources supports the view that the practice of assigning (jagirs) continued even in the period in which according to the above scholar 'assignments were not made'. There are several clear references, where already assigned jagirs continued, fresh jagirs were assigned and even confiscated jagirs were reassigned. In the period between the 19th to 24 Regnal year there are many references to

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9. Douglas. E.Streusand, The Formation of the Mughal Empire, p.68. 'Before the sixteenth century, the concessions were most common called iqta, the Ottomans used the term timar, the safavis tiyul, the Mughals jagirs or tiyul.

10. Iqta is an Arabic world, almost as old as Islam. It first denoted a peace of landed property received from the state, but gradually came to signify revenue assignments"in which the state has the real right of property".

11. W.H.Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.96; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, pp.262 & 271; R.P. Tripathi, Rise and fall of Mughal Empire, p.239.

the fresh assignment of *jagirs* in the whole empire. In Panjab the pargana of Tirahna (in Sarkar Sirhind) was bestowed on Rahman Quli Qushbegi in the 22nd R.Y.,[12] Bhakkar (in Suba Multan) was assigned in the 19th R.Y. to Tarson Khan.[13] In the 23rd regnal year there is a reference to the *jagir* of the Kachhwaha family in Panjab, where Raja Todar Mal was sent to arrange the affairs of the family.[14] In the other references Dastam Khan was assigned the sarkar of Ranthambhor (in *suba* Ajmer), Masum Khan FaranKhudi was granted *Sarkar* Ghazipur (in Allahabad *Suba*), Jalesar (in Suba Agra) was taken from Khaldin Khan and given to Mir Jamaluddin Husain Anju in 24 R.Y., etc.[15] Having taken all the references of assignment, it can be said that the *jagirdari* system, as suggested by some scholars, was never completely abandoned. It continued even in the period of which Moreland and others say that it was abandoned.

Some of the more important places like, Sialkot, Hisar Firuza, Sirhind, Multan and Dipalpur were granted to very important nobles of the court. In March 1557 A.D. Multan was held by Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas and at the

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12. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama3:333.
13. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama 3:129.
14. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama 3:358.
15. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:295,410,430. This is also discussed by Mahendar Pal Singh, Akbar Resumption of jagir 1575-9, re-examination, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 27(1966):208-11.

end of same year Multan was assigned to Bahadur Khan Uzbek. In 1560 A.D. Multan was held by Muhammad Qasim Nishapuri, but once again in 1563-64 Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas was the jagirdars of Multan. In 1571 A.D. and 1573 A.D. Multan was granted as jagir to Muhibb Ali Khan and Said Khan Chaghta respectively. In 1556 A.D. Sialkot was the jagir of Sikandar Khan and again in 1580 A.D. Sialkot was the jagir of Man Singh who held the high rank of 7000 zat/6000 sawar.[16] Dipalpur was also the jagir of influential nobles like Mirza Aziz Koka, and Muhammad Sadiq Khan. It appears that some of more important places were quite frequently granted to nobles who held a mansab rank of more then 4000 zat. In 1595 A.D. Mirza Aziz Koka was the jagirdar of Multan, who rose to a mansab rank of 7000 zat/6000 sawar in 1602 A.D. The case of Hisar Firuza was somewhat different from the other places. The revenue of Hisar Firuza was granted to the royal princes. On some occasions it was also granted to some more important nobles of Akbar. For the maximum period of time the areas of Hisar Firuza and Sirhind were under imperial control as part of khalisa land.

The Mughal nobility after its first phase of development during the reign of Babur and Humayun and the early years of Akbar, came to consist of certain well organized racial groups. There were Turani (Central

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16. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:211, 1257.

Asians), Iranis (Persians), Afghans, Shaikhzadas (Indian Muslim) and the Rajput, etc. Akbar's policy seem to have been to integrate all these elements into a single imperial service. He often assigned officers belonging to various groups to serve under one superior officer. At the same time, the distinct of separate character of each group was respected. The imperial government regulated the proportion of men belonging to his own race of clan which a mansabdar could recruit. There was, therefore, diversity in unity, and the diversity was capable of producing tensions. Mirza Hakim had pinned his hopes on these tensions in 1581 A.D. He expected that the Irani and Turanis in Akbar's force would go over to his side, while the Rajputs and Afghans would be slaughtered and the other Indians would be captured.[17] Akbar's policy of Sulh-i-kul was partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious belief to prevent the sectarian differences among them from interfering with their loyalty to the throne. On the basis of his liberal policy, some of his critic like Badaoni, Sir Wolsley Haig and Dr.V.A.Smith considered him as pro-Hindu or anti Muslim. But as from the present study this does not seem the case, because Akbar did not follow the advice of

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17. Akbarnama3:538. The Mirza's advisers did not know, adds Abul Fazl, the extent of loyalty which the Turani andn Irani felt for Akbar, nor how brave the Rajput and Shaikhzadas of India were.

religion leaders in many matters.[18] Akbar appears to have balanced different sections of the nobility. If Abdur Rahim was awarded the title of Khan-i-Khanan , Raja Todar Mal was given the status of Mushrif-i-Diwan. If Raja Man Singh was granted the high mansab of 7000 zat/6000 sawar, the same rank was granted to Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka and Shah Rukh Mirza. It is logical to conclude that Akbar's attitude towards the nobility was not the result of religious or racial considerations. He preferred to consider the suitability of the person, the office and the political situation from time to time.

The assignment of jagirs among the noble was done in a way that, no single clan of jagirdars could become dangerously influential in any particular area. No doubt in Akbar's early years the jagirdars of the same clan were granted jagirs in the particularly area that was administered by their leader. Subsequently, from 1561 A.D. onwards the jagirs of many great nobles and powerful clans came to be assigned in fragments scattered over a number of parganas located at considerable distance from each other.

The main source of income for the pre-modern Indian state was land revenue. For this reason Akbar keep strict vigilance upon the jagirdars and was quite particular about the welfare of the common peasant. To

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18. Sri Ram Sharma, The Religious Policy of the Mughal (Hindi), p.68.

achieve this aim he adopted several measures. In order to keep the power of the *jagirdars* under control Akbar started a transfer policy,[19] or confiscating a *jagir*, when they ignored the regulations of authority or oppressed peasants. The government maintained a close and strict supervision over matters pertaining to revenue. The bulk of the revenue being derived from land, the government was particularly conscious of the welfare of the peasants.

Disorders were suppressed with a strong hand. Peace and order was successfully established in the land with the help of an effective administrative system. Despite the despotic nature of the monarchy the welfare of the subjects was not ignored. The nobles, undoubtedly flourished more because of royal patronage. The ordinary peasant, however, had to be safeguarded from the undue oppression of the powerful. That the emperor was quite aware of this is apparent from some of Akbar's sayings that one comes across in the writings of contemporary authors. For example:

> "Tyranny is unlawful with everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world."[20]

According to Moreland, during the reign of Akbar

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19. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb p.155. 'The Mughal nobility, unlike contemporary European nobility, was not tied to the land; their jagirs (or revenue assignments) were transferred from one place to another as a matter of routines'.

20. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbar, tr. H.Blochmann.3:399.

just under 70 per cent of the nobles whose origin is known were foreigners belonging to 'families which had either came to India with Humayun or had arrived at the court after the accession of Akbar'.[21] In theory all the mansabdars were appointed personally by the emperor. Almost as a general rule individual hoping for the grant of a mansab had to appear in person before him. Abul Fazl suggests that Akbar had the ability to evaluate the worth of individuals in a single glance. He writes, 'His majesty sees through some menat the first glance, and confers upon them high rank.'[22] The Bakhshi was assigned the duty of presenting all candidates, who came for service before the emperor. Recommendations for recruitment to the mansabdari could also be made by the leading nobles of the empire. The governors of provinces and leaders of military expeditions on many occasions recommended persons for appointment to the emperor. Their recommendations were generally accepted and mansabs were given to the person they recommended.

Akbar did not overlook the necessity of periodically recognizing good service. This he did by rewarding his officers in various ways. Rewards could take the form of mansab, promotions, larger jagirs, titles, trophies, robes of honour, cash awards and royal

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21. W.H.Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, pp.69-70.

22. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, 1:248.

visits. Such rewards were granted the emperor especially on the occasion of royal festivities like birthday and coronation anniversaries, Nauroz, and the victorious return of the emperor from a military campaign.[23] Public servants were rewarded by the emperor for their distinguished service by the grant of titles. Ordinarily a title denoted some quality in a person, or particular office held by him. Officers were also given the grant of a flag, a Kettledrum, ornaments or a costly robe of honour. The emperor at times paid a casual visits to favoured nobles in the course of his journeys. A visit of the emperor to a noble was regarded as an exceptional privilege and placed the favoured noble in a position prominence and influence. There were times when Akbar not only honoured his officers, but also showed personal concern for them. When in February 1586 A.D. he forbade the entry of Bhagwan Das to the court and the latter out of embarrassment struck himself with a dagger, Akbar took personal interest in his treatment and appointed the best physicians for his core.[24] Sometimes Akbar went to the extent of risking his own life to save his officer's life. In 1584 A.D. during an elephant-fighting, the elephant cacar, notorious for killing men, got violent and rushed toward Birbal and was nearly to kill him, Akbar drove his

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23. A.L.Srivastava, Akbar the great,2:260-61.

24. A.L.Srivastava, Akbar the Great,1:325.: Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, vol.3:654.

horse between the monaster and Birbal and when the enraged brute rushed at him, he was overcome by the majestic avanant (Durbash), and thus, Birbal was saved. In October 1598 A.D. when Pratap Singh attempted suicide by cutting his throat by a dagger and his condition become serious Akbar appointed skilled surgeons to treat him and as a result of this he recovered in a very short time.[25]

The power, wealth and jagirs which the nobles enjoyed during their lifetime was purely a temporary phenomenon. A substantial part of the grandeur, which surrounded a noble during his life disappeared with his death. The property of a noble who died without heir, lapsed to the state. This practice was based on the Muslim law according to which the property of a Muslim who dies and has no heir, is one of those properties which should go to the public treasury. The origin of this law is based upon an authentic hadith in which his Holiness the prophet says, 'I am the master of one who has no master. I receive the property of heir less person and free his slaves' In the times of Akbar the prominent example available is of no less a person than Munim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan. Badaoni wrote since (Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan) had no heir, the officials seized all that wealth

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25. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, 3:774, 793.

and gain which had taken many years to accumulate.[26] Even in cases where the nobles had sons and heirs, the emperor did not hesitate to acquire almost all property of the nobles. The king generally allowed the horses and furniture of the dead noble to be passed to his widow and children along with some kind of official position of reduced importance. Suppose the noble held a mansab of five thousand zat or more, the emperor might as a favour have granted one of one thousand or fifteen hundred on his son. Thus, the property of a noble was, infect, the state property and he was simply to enjoy its benefits only in his life time. Thereafter, the entire property lapsed to the state. They could simply lay their claim to petty belongings like furniture etc. The heirs of the noble had to start afresh.

The entire structure of the Mughal empire rested on the creation of a faithful and satisfied nobility which would support the emperor in all times. This Akbar was very successful in doing through the mansabdari system. If we were to look even deeper, however, the mansabdari system rested upon the proper assignment of jagirs. In the ultimate analysis the large majority of the mansabdars were jagirdars and it was the proper working of the jagirdari system that was the very basis of the Mughal administrative structure. The greatness of the jagirdari

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26. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, vol.2:221.

system as evolved by Akbar has been commented upon by Moreland. He writes up to the end of the seventeenth century, with the exception of one short period, payment by assignment was the rule of the Mughal empire and payment from the treasure was exceptional. It will therefore not be wrong to conclude that the stability of the Mughal empire even in later reign was derived to a very great extent from the essential principles of the jagirdari system to the evolution of which Akbar made a remarkable contribution.

APPENDIX (A)

TABLE

Abul Fazl's Table showing the Establishments and Salaries of the Zat ranks of the Mansabdars

No.	Commanders	HORSES						ELEPHANTS					Beasts of Burden & Carts			Monthly Salaries 1st	2nd	3rd
		Iraqi	Majannas	Turki	Yabu	Tazi	Jangla	Shergir	Sada	Manjbola	Karha	Phandurkiya	Qitars of Camles	Qitars of Mules	Carts			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1.	10,000	68	68	136	136	136	136	40	60	40	40	20	160	40	320	60,000	—	—
2.	8,000	54	45	108	108	108	108	35	50	36	34	15	130	34	260	50,000	—	—
3.	7,000	49	49	98	98	98	98	30	42	29	27	12	110	27	220	45,000	—	—
4.	5,000	34	34	68	68	68	68	20	30	20	20	10	80	20	160	30,000	29,00	28,000
5.	4,900	33	33	67	67	67	67	20	30	19	19	10	77	$19\frac{4}{5}$	157	27,600	27,400	27,300
6.	4,800	32	32	66	66	65	65	20	29	19	19	9	77	$19\frac{2}{5}$	153	27,600	27,400	27,200

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
7.	4,700	31	31	65	65	63	63	19	29	19	19	12	75	19	151	26,800	26,600	26,500
8.	4,600	31	31	63	63	62	62	18	28	19	18	9	74	$18\frac{1}{5}$	148	26,400	26,200	26,100
9.	4,500	31	30	30	61	61	61	18	28	19	17	8	72	$18\frac{3}{5}$	145	26,000	25,800	25,700
10.	4,400	30	29	60	60	59	59	18	28	19	16	7	71	$18\frac{1}{5}$	142	25.200	25,000	24,800
11.	4,300	29	28	59	59	58	58	17	27	19	16	7	$69\frac{3}{5}$	18	139	24,400	24,200	24,000
12.	4,200	28	27	58	53	57	56	16	26	19	16	7	68	$17\frac{3}{5}$	136	23,600	23,400	23,200
13.	4,100	27	27	56	56	56	55	16	26	18	16	6	68	$17\frac{2}{5}$	133	22,800	22,600	22,400
14.	4,000	27	27	54	54	54	54	16	25	18	15	6	65	17	130	22,000	22,000	21,800
15.	3,900	26	26	53	53	52	52	16	24	18	15	6	$63\frac{3}{5}$	$16\frac{4}{5}$	127	21,400	21,200	21,100
16.	3,800	26	26	51	51	51	51	16	23	18	15	6	62	$16\frac{2}{5}$	124	20,800	20,600	20,500
17.	3,700	25	25	59	50	50	49	16	23	17	15	6	$60\frac{3}{5}$	$16\frac{1}{5}$	121	20,200	20,000	19,900
18.	3,600	25	25	49	48	48	47	16	23	17	14	6	59	15	118	19,600	19,400	19,300
19.	3,500	24	24	47	47	46	46	16	23	17	14	5	$57\frac{3}{5}$	$15\frac{3}{5}$	115	19,000	18,800	18,700
20.	3,400	23	23	46	46	46	44	16	22	17	14	5	56	$15\frac{1}{5}$	112	18,600	18,400	18,300
21.	3,300	22	22	45	45	44	43	15	22	17	14	5	$54\frac{3}{5}$	15	109	18,200	18,000	17,900
22.	3,200	21	21	44	44	42	42	15	21	17	14	5	53	$14\frac{3}{5}$	106	17,800	17,600	17,500
23.	3,100	20	20	43	43	41	40	15	20	17	14	5	$51\frac{3}{5}$	$14\frac{2}{5}$	103	17,400	17,200	17,100
24.	3,000	20	20	40	40	40	40	15	20	16	14	5	50	14	100	17,000	16,800	16,700
25.	2,900	19	19	39	39	39	39	15	19	16	13	4	48	$13\frac{1}{5}$	96	16,400	16,200	16,100

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
26.	2,800	18	18	38	38	38	38	15	18	14	12	3	46	12	92	15,800	15,600	15,500
27.	2,700	17	17	37	37	37	37	14	17	13	11	3	44	$11\frac{3}{5}$	88	15,200	15,000	14,900
28.	2,600	17	17	36	36	35	35	13	15	12	11	3	42	$10\frac{4}{5}$	84	14,600	14,400	14,300
29.	2,500	17	17	34	34	34	34	12	14	12	10	2	40	10	80	14,000	13,800	13,700
30.	2,400	17	17	33	33	33	33	12	13	11	10	2	38	$9\frac{2}{5}$	76	13,600	13,400	13,300
31.	2,300	16	16	33	33	32	32	12	12	10	10	2	36	$8\frac{1}{5}$	72	13,200	13,000	12,900
32.	2,200	16	16	32	32	31	31	11	12	9	10	2	34	$8\frac{1}{5}$	68	12,800	12,600	12,500
33.	2,100	15	15	31	31	31	31	10	12	9	9	2	32	$7\frac{3}{5}$	64	12,400	12,200	12,100
34.	2,000	15	15	30	30	30	30	10	12	9	7	2	30	7	60	12,000	11,900	11,800
35.	1,900	14	14	29	29	29	30	10	12	9	7	2	$28\frac{1}{5}$	$6\frac{3}{5}$	58	11,750	11,450	11,350
36.	1,800	14	13	28	28	28	29	10	11	9	7	2	$27\frac{3}{5}$	$6\frac{1}{5}$	56	11,400	11,350	11,300
37.	1,700	14	13	27	27	27	27	9	11	9	7	2	$26\frac{2}{5}$	$5\frac{1}{5}$	54	11,200	11,000	10,800
38.	1,600	13	13	26	26	25	25	9	10	9	7	2	$25\frac{1}{5}$	$5\frac{2}{5}$	52	10,600	10,400	10,200
39.	1,500	12	12	24	24	24	24	8	10	8	7	2	24	5	50	10,000	9,800	9 700
40.	1,400	12	12	24	24	23	23	8	10	8	7	2	$23\frac{2}{5}$	$4\frac{4}{5}$	49	9,600	9,400	9,300
41.	1,300	12	12	23	23	23	22	8	10	7	7	2	23	$4\frac{3}{5}$	46	9,200	9,100	9,050
42.	1,200	11	11	22	22	22	22	7	9	7	7	2	$23\frac{2}{5}$	$4\frac{3}{5}$	46	9,000	8,900	8,800
43.	1,100	11	11	22	22	21	21	7	9	7	7	2	22	$4\frac{2}{5}$	44	8,700	8,500	8,400
44.	1,000	10	10	21	21	21	21	7	8	7	7	2	21	$4\frac{1}{6}$	42	8,200	8,100	8000

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
45.	900	10	10	20	20	20	20	7	8	6	7	2	20	4	40	7,700	7,400	7,100
46.	800	10	14	17	17	9	3	7	8	5	5	2	$17\frac{3}{5}$	$3\frac{1}{5}$	34	5,000	4,700	4,600
47.	700	6	13	9	13	14	7	5	6	4	4	1	$15\frac{2}{5}$	3	27	4,400	4,000	3,600
48.	600	5	7	11	9	4	4	4	3	5	2	1	13	$2\frac{2}{6}$	21	3,500	3,200	3,000
49.	600	4	7	8	8	4	3	4	2	4	2	1	14	2	15	2,800	2,750	2,700
50.	500	4	6	8	8	4	—	3	4	2	2	1	10	2	15	2,500	2,300	2,100
51.	400	3	4	5	6	2	—	2	2	2	2	1	5	—	12	2,000	1,700	1,500
52.	350	3	4	4	4	2	—	1	1	2	3	1	$4\frac{2}{5}$	—	11	1,450	1,375	1,350
53.	300	3	3	3	4	2	—	1	1	2	2	1	4	—	10	1,300	1,250	1,200
54.	250	3	3	3	4	1	—	1	1	2	2	—	$3\frac{2}{5}$	—	8	1,150	1,100	1,000
55.	200	2	3	3	3	1	—	1	2	1	2	—	3	—	7	975	950	900
56.	150	2	3	3	3	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	2	—	6	875	850	100
57.	125	2	2	2	3	2	—	—	1	1	2	—	$2\frac{1}{6}$	—	5	780	760	750
58.	120	2	2	2	3	2	—	—	1	1	2	—	$2\frac{1}{6}$	—	5	745	740	730
59.	100	2	2	2	2	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	2	—	5	700	600	500
60.	80	2	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	2	—	2	—	3	410	380	350
61.	60	1	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	$1\frac{2}{5}$	—	2	301	285	270
62.	50	1	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	$1\frac{2}{5}$	—	2	250	240	230
63.	40	1	2	2	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	$1\frac{2}{5}$	—	1	223	200	185
64.	30	—	1	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	$1\frac{1}{5}$	—	1	175	165	155
65.	20	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	$1\frac{1}{6}$	—	1	135	125	115
66.	10	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	$82\frac{1}{2}$	75

APPENDIX (B)

Mansabdars Holding Appointment Under Akbar

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1555-6 A.D	Bairam Khan	Wakil-i-Saltanat	A.N.2/9
1555-6	Iskandar Khan	Hakim of Agra	A.N.2/25
1555-6	Shah Muhammad Qalati	Hakim of Qandhar	A.N.2/25
1555-6	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	Hakim of Kalpi	A.N.2/25
1555-6	Qiya Khan	Hakim of Kol and Jalali	A.N.2/25
1555-6	Haidar Muha-mmad Khan	Hakim of Bayana	A.N.2/25
1555-6	Tardi Beg Khan	Hakim of Delhi	A.N.2/36
1555-6	Shaikh Gadai	Sadr	A.N.2/36
1556-7	Qayam Khan	Hakim of Agra	A.N.2/71
1556-7	Mahdi Qasim Khan	Hakim of Delhi	A.N.2/75
1556-7	Bahdur Khan	Hakim of Multan	A.N.2/94
1557-8	Husain Quli Khan	Hakim of Lahore	A.N.2/96
1559-60	Haji Muhammad Khan Sestani	Wakil	MUT.2/22
1559-60	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	Hakim of Delhi	MUT.2/30
1559-60	Munim Khan	Wakil	A.N.2/174
1561-2	Pir Muhammad Khan	Hakim of Malwa	A.N.2/235
1561-2	Abdulla Khan Uzbek	Hakim of Malwa	A.N.2/260

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1561-2	Khwaja Phul (Itimad Khan)	Diwan-i-Khalisa	A.N.2/277
1561-2	Khwaja Muinuddin Ahmad Khan Faran Khudi Khudi	Diwan of Malwa	A.N.2/260
1561-2	Azam Khan	Wakil-i-Mutdaq	M.U.T.2/49
" "	Khwaja Muhammad Salih Harvi	Sadr	M.U.T.2/48
" "	Ghani Khan S/o Munim Khan	Hakim of Kabul	M.U.T.2/52
" "	Mir Gesu	Shiqdar of Narnaul	M.U.T.2/58
1563-4	Khwaja Muza-ffar Ali Turbati	Wakil-i-Kul	A.N.2/305-6
"	Qayyum Khan S/o Shujjat Khan	Hakim of Narnaul	A.N.2/309
	Bahadur Khan	Hakim of Malwa	A.N.2/136
	Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan	Hakim of Delhi; Hakim of Karha	T.A.2/296
1564-65	Mir Muhammad	Hakim of Punjab	A.N.2/361-2
"	Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas	Hakim of Multan	A.N.2/361-2
"	Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Ali	Bakshi	A.Ali.35
"	Lashkar Khan	Mir Bakshi	M.U.T.2/82
"	Bahadur Khan	Hakim of Malwa	A.Ali.35
"	Abdulla Khan	Hamim of Malwa	A.Ali.35
1565-66	Mahdi Qasim Khan	Hakim of Garha Katanga	A.N.2/404
1566-67	Munim Khan	Hakim of Agra	A.N.2/411

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1566-67	Muzaffar Khan	Diwan	A.N.2/435
"	Shahab Khan	Hakim of Jaunpur	A.N.2/435
1567-8	Asaf Khan	Hakim of Ajmer	A.Ali.35
"	Itimad Khan	Hakim of Ahmadabad	A.Ali.35
"	Muhammad Murad Khan	Hakim of Ujjain	A.Ali.35
1567-68	Khan-i-Kalan	Hakim of Nagor	A.Ali.35
1567-8	Husain Quli Khan	Hakim of Lahore	A.Ali.35
1570-1	Said Khan	Hakim of Multan	M.U.T.2/138
1572-73	Aziz Koka Khan-i-Azam	Hakim of Gujarat	A.N.3/13
1573-74	Muhammad Husain Khan	Mir Bakshi	A.N.3/97
"	Said Khan Chaghta	Hakim of Multan	M.U.T.2/168
"	Mir Muhammad Khan Atka	Hakim of Patan	M.U.T.2/173; A.N.3/66.
"	Mirza Ghiasuddin Ali Qazwin	Diwan and Bakshi of Gujarat	A.N.3/90; M.U.T.2/173
"	Muzaffar Ali Muzaffar Khan Turpati	Hakim of Sarangpur; Wazir-i-Mutlaq, Wakil	M.U.T.2/174; A.N.3/94-95
"	Khwaja Abul Qasim	Diwan of Gujarat	A.Ali.3
"	Nizamuddin Ahmad S/O Khwaja Muqim of Herat	Bakshi of Gujrat	M.U.1/660
	Itimad Khan	Hakim of Gujrat	A.N.3/89
	Husain Quli Khan	Hakim of Punjab	A.N.3/56

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1574-5	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Nishapuri	Diwan-i-Khalisa; Hakim of Agra	A.N.3/122; M.U.T.2/178
"	Tayib Khan	Mustaufi-i-Mumalik	A.N.3/122
"	Rai Bhagwan Das	Mustaufi-i-Mumalik	A.N.3/122
"	Rai Purkhutam	Bakshi	A.N.3/122
"	Sayyid Abdulla Khan Chaugan Begi	Hakim of Bayana	M.U.T.2/183
"	Sayyid Muhammad Amroha	Faujdar of Bhakkar	A.Ali.4
"	Tayib Khan	Hakim of Delhi	M.U.T.2/188
"	Mohsin Khan	Hakim of Jaunpur	A.N.3/124
"	Mir Gesu Bakwal Begi	Qiladar of Bhakkar	A.Ali.4
"	Banwali Das	Karori of Sarkar Bhakkar	A.Ali.4.
"	Khan Azam	Nazim of Gujarat	A.N.3/155
"	Muhammad Husain Lashkar Khan	Mir Bakshi	A.N.3/180
"	Tarsan Muhammad Khan	Hakim of Bhakkar	A.N.3/129
1575-76	Husain Quli Khan	Hakim of Punjab	M.U.T.2/220
"	Qulij Muhammad Khan	Hakim of Surat	M.U.T.3/69
"	Mir Sayyidl Muhammad	Mir-i-Adl; Hakim of Bhakkar	A.N.3/224. M.U.T.2/214.
1576-7	Mirza Khan	Sardar of Gujarat	A.N.3/236
"	Mir Alaud	Amin of Gujarat	A.N.3/236

Date	Duala Name	Appointment	Source
1576-7	Piyag Das	<u>Diwan</u> of Gujarat	A.N.3/236
"	Sayyid Abul Fazl S/o Sayyid Muhammad of Amroha	<u>Mir-i-Adl</u> of Bhakkar	A.Ali.5
"	Shah Budagh Khan	<u>Hakim</u> of Saranghpur	Ain.1/402 M.U.2/536
"	Jamal Khan	<u>Faujdar</u> of Ajmer	A.N.3/245
"	Qiya Khan Gung	<u>Hakim</u> of Orissa	Ain/366, M.U.3/54-56 (Text)
"	Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan Nishapuri	<u>Hakim</u> of Malwa	A.N.3/241
"	Shah Mansur Shirazi	<u>Wazir</u>	A.N.3/274 M.U.T.2/247
"	Khan-i-Jahan	<u>Hakim</u> of Orissa Bengal	A.N.3/252 M.U.T.2/233
"	Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Ali Asaf Khan	<u>Mir Bakshi</u>	M.U.T.2/233
"	Muzaffar Khan Turbati	<u>Hakim</u> of Patna	M.U.T.2/235
"	Khan Azam	Hakim of Gujarat	A.Ali.6
1577-78	Wazir Khan	<u>Hakim</u> of Gujarat	M.U.T.2/249
"	Mulla Taiyab	<u>Diwan</u> of Bihar	M.U.T.2/274
"	Rai Purkhutam	<u>Bakshi</u> of Bihar	M.U.T.2/274
"	Mulla Majdi Sirhindi	<u>Amin</u> of Bihar	M.U.T.2/274
"	Shamsher Khan Khawajasara	Incharge of Khalisa	M.U.T.2/274
"	Abdul Amin Sultan Khwaja	<u>Sadr</u>	M.U.T.2/275

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1577-78	Said Khan Chaghta	Ataliq of Prince Daniyal	A.N.3/288
"	Rustam Khan S/o Dastam Khan	<u>Ayalat-i-Suba</u> Ajmer	A.N.3/295
"	Sayyid Hamid Bukhari	<u>Ayalat-i-Suba</u> Multan	A.N.3/300
"	Shahbaz Khan	Mir Bakshi	A.N.3/307
"	Phul Malik, Itimad Khan Enunch	<u>Hakim</u> of Bhakkar	Ain.i,473. M.U.1,88
"	Qasim Khan	<u>Ayalat-i-Suba</u> Agra	A.N.3/327
"	Ibrahim Khan S/O Shaikh Musa	<u>Ayalat-i-Suba</u> Fathpur-Sikri	A.N.3/337
"	Said Khan Chaghta	<u>Ayalat-i-Suba</u> Panjab	A.N.3/356 M.U.T.2/261
"	Fath Khan	Faujdar of Bhakkar	A.N.3/358
1577-78	Sayyid Muhammad	<u>Mir-i-Adl</u>	A.N.3/358
"	Mir Fakhruddin Mashhadi Naqib Khan	<u>Hakim</u> of Patan (Gujarat)	A.N.3/382
"	Tarsan Khan	<u>Hakim</u> of Patan (Gujarat)	A.N.3/382-3
"	Qulij Muhammad Khan	<u>Subedar</u> of Gujarat	A.N.3/283
1578-79	Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi	Sadr of Gujarat	A.N.3/383
1579-80	Mulla Masum	<u>Qazi</u> of Bihar	M.U.T.2/285
"	Mulla Abdul Shakar Guldar	<u>Qazi</u> of Jaunpur	M.U.T.2/285
"	Shaikh Muna	<u>Sadr</u> of Malwa	M.U.T.2/285

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1579-80	Muzaffar Khan Turbati	Subedar of Bengal	A.N.3/386
"	Sadr-i-Jahan	Mufti-i-Kul	M.U.T.2/278
"	Rizvi Khan	Bakshi of Bengal	M.U.T.2/275
"	Hakim Abul Fath Gilani	Sadr	M.U.T.2/276
"	Husain Quli Khan	Hakim of Bengal	M.U.T.2/275; A.N.3/386
"	Rai Patar Das	Diwan of Bengal	M.U.T.276.
"	Mir Adham	Diwan of Bengal	M.U.T.2/276
1579-80	Qazi Jalaudin Multani	Qazi-ul-Quzzat	M.U.T.278
"	Muhammad Masum Khan S/O Muin Ahmad Khan Farankhudi	Hakim of Jaunpur	M.U.T.2/284
"	Shaikh Abdul Nabi	Sadr	A.N.3/401
"	Muhibb Ali Khan S/O Mir Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa	Hakim of Delhi	M.U.T.2/284
1579-80	Sharukh Kambu Lahori	Subedar of Ajmer	A.N.3/406
"	Qazi Sadru-ddin Lahori	Qazi of Bharuch	M.U.T.2/285
"	Mirza Khan	Subedar of Ajmer	A.N.3/480
"	Qazi Ali Baghdadi	Bakshi	A.N.3/423
"	Mirza Aziz Koka	Hakim of Bengal	A.N.3/454
1580-81	Mirza Khan	Mir-i-Arz	A.N.3/439
"	Muqim Arab Shujaat Khan	Subedar of Malwa	A.N.3/312

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1588-81	Muhibb Ali	Hakim of Rohtas	M.U.T.2/290; M.U.3/277-80
"	Rustam Khan S/O Dastam	Subedar of Ajmer	A.N.3/479
"	Wazir Khan	Subedar of Awadh	A.N.3/480
1581-82	Qulij Khan	Wazir	A.N.3/504
"	Qiya Khan Gung	Subedar of Orissa	A.N.3/429
"	Wazir Khan B/o Asaf Khan Harvi	Diwan-i-Kul	M.U.T.2/296
"	Hakim Abdul Fath Gilani	Sadr of Suba Malwa and Gujarat	A.N.3/546
"	Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi	Sadr of Kalpi Agra and Kalinjar	A.N.3/546
"	Hakim Ali Gilani	Sadr of Bihar	A.N.3/546
1581-82	Shah Mansur Shirazi	Wazir	A.N.3/502; M.U.T.2/303
"	Muhammad Masum Khan Faran Khudi	Hakim of Jaunpur Hakim of Awadh	M.U.T.2/297
"	Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk	Sadr of Bengal	A.N.3/546
"	Qazi Ali Bada-kshi	Sadr of Panjab	A.N.3/546
"	Muhibb Ali Khan S/o Mir Nizam-uddin Ali Khalifa	Hakim of Delhi	M.U.3/238-45; A.A/463-64; T.A.2/662
"	Raja Bhagwan Das	Subedar of Panjab	A.N.3/546
1582-83	Todar Mal	Diwan	A.N.3/560
"	Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi	Sadr of Gujarat	M.U.T.2/322

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1582-83	Qazi Abdul Sami	Qazi-i-Askar(army)	A.N.3/554
1583-84	Itimad Khan	Subedar of Gujarat	M.U.T.3/332 A.N.3/596
"	Mir Abu Turab	Amin of Gujarat	A.N.3/596 M.U.T.2/332
"	Khwaja Niza-muddin Ahmad	Bakshi of Gujarat	A.N.3/596 M.U.T.2/332
"	Khwaja Abul Qasim Tabrizi	Diwan of Gujarat	M.U.T.2/332 A.N.3/596
"	Mir Gesu Khurasani	Faujdar of Merut	A.N.3/615
1584-5	Mirza Khan Khanan	Subedar of Gujarat	A.N.3/642
"	Abdul Azim Sultan Khwaja	Sadr	A.N.1/467
1585	Mirza Jafar Beg, Asaf Khan	Bakshi	A.N.3/661
1585	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	Subedar of Malwa	A.N.3/687
1585	Bayazid Biyat	Darogha-i-Daftaar Khana	Bayzid,373 A.Ali.10.
1585	Muhammad Qasim Khan Nishapuri	Hakim of Malwa	Ain.1.379
1585	Mir Fathullah Shirazi	Sadr-i-Kul	M.U.T.2/354 A.N.3/701
1585	Shahrukah Kambu Lahori	Subedar of Bihar	A.N.3/701
1585	Mirza Yusuf Khan	Subedar of Awadh	A.N.3/701
1585-85	Sadiq Muha-mmad Khan Hirat	Hakim of Bhakkar	M.U.T.2/359
"	Mirza Khan Khan-i-Khanan	Subedar of Gujarat	A.N.3/705

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1585-86	Raja Man Singh	Subedar of Kabul	A.N.3/745
"	Shahabuddin Khan	Jointly <u>Subedar</u> of Allahabad	A.N.3/779
"	Abdul Muttalib Khan	Jointly <u>Subedar</u> of Allahabad	A.N.3/779
"	Rahman Quli	<u>Diwan</u> of Allahabad	A.N.3/779
"	Jafar Beg, Asaf Khan	<u>Bakshi</u> of Allahabad	A.N.3/779
"	Fath Khan	Jointly <u>Subedar</u> of Awadh	A.N.3/779
"	Qasim Ali Khan	Jointly <u>Subedar</u> of Awadh	A.N.3/779
"	Mulla Nazir	<u>Diwan</u> of Awadh	A.N.3/779
"	Tara Chand	<u>Bakshi</u> of Awadh	A.N.3/779
"	Jagan Nath	Jointly <u>subedar</u> of Ajmer	A.N.3/779
"	Rai Durga Sisodia	Jointly <u>Subedar</u> of Ajmer	A.N.3/779
1585-86	Mujahid	<u>Diwan</u> of Ajmer	A.N.3/779
"	Sultan Quli	<u>Bakshi</u> of Ajmer	A.N.3/779
"	Mirza Khan <u>Khan-i-Khanan</u>	Jointly <u>Subedar</u> of Ahmadabad	A.N.3/779
"	Quli Muhammad Khan	Jointly <u>Subedar</u> of Ahmadabad	A.N.3/779
"	Sayyid Abdul Qasim	<u>Diwan</u> of Ahmadabad	A.N.3/779
"	Nizamuddin Ahmad	<u>Baakshi</u> of Ahmadabad	A.N.3/779
"	Said Khan Chaghta	Jointly Subedar of Bihar	A.N.3/779

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1585-6	Mirza Yusuf Khan	Jointly Subedar of Bihar	A.N.3/779
"	Rai Patar Das	Diwan of Bihar	A.N.3/779
"	Abdur Razzaq Mamuri	Bakshi of Bihar	A.N.3/779
"	Wazir Khan	Jointly Subedar of Bengal	A.N.3/779
"	Karamullah	Diwan of Bengal	A.N.3/779
"	Shahrullah Lahori Shahbaz Khan	Bakshi of Bengal	A.N.3/779
"	Itibar Khan (Ikhlas Khan Khwajasara)	Hakim of Delhi	A.N.3/779
"	Sadiq Khan	Jointly Subedar of Multan	A.N.3/779
"	Ismail Quli Khan	Jointly Subedar of Multan	A.N.3/779
"	Khwaja Abddul Samad Kashi	Diwan of Multan	A.N.3/779
"	Muqim	Bakshi of Multan	A.N.3/779
"	Shaikh Ibrahim	Jointly Subedar of Agra	A.N.3/779
"	Raja Askaran	Jointly Subedar of Agra	A.N.3/779
"	Muhibb Ali Khaqani	Diwan of Agra	A.N.3/779
"	Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk	Bakshi of Agra	A.N.3/779
"	Shah Quli Khan Mahram	Jointly Subedar of Delhi	A.N.3/779
"	Abul Fazl	Jointly Subedar of Delhi	A.N.3/779
"	Taiyib	Diwan of Delhi	A.N.3/779

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1585-6	Hasan Khan Miyana	*Bakshi* of Delhi	A.N.3/779
"	Man Singh	Jointly Subedar of Kabul	A.N.3/779
1585-86	Zain Khan Koka	Jointly *Subedar* of Kabul	A.N.3/779
"	Nizam-ul-Mulk	*Diwan* of Kabul	A.N.3/779
"	Khwaja Sham-suddin	*Bakshi* of Kabul	A.N.3/779
"	Mirza Aziz Koka,Khan Azam	Jointly *Subedar* of Malwa	A.N.3/779
"	Naurang Khan	Jointly *Subedar* of Malwa	A.N.3/779
"	Mukhtar Beg	*Diwan* of Malwa	A.N.3/779
"	Fathullah S/o Haji Habibu-llah Kashi	*Bakshi* of Malwa	A.N.3/779
"	Raja Bhagwan Das	Jointly Subedar of Lahore	A.N.3/779
1585-86	Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner S/o Kalyan Mal	Jointly *Subedar* of Lahore	A.N.3/779
"	Bayazid Bayat	*Daroga-i-Daftar* Khana	Bayzid,373
"	Qasim Khan Batkapvi	*Subedar* of Kashmir	A.N.3/796
1586-87	Mirza Yusuf Khan	*Subedar* of Kashmir	A.N.3/796
1587-88	Said Khan Chaghta	*Subedar* of Bengal	A.N.3/801
"	Man Singh	*Subedar* of Bihar	A.N.3/801
1588-89	Wazir Khan	*Subedar* of Bengal	A.N.3/813
"	Shaikh Abul Faiz Faizi	*Malik-ul-Shura*	A.N.3/814

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1588-89	Qasim Ali Badakshi	Diwan of Kashmir	A.Ali.13
"	Muhibb Ali Khan Rohtasi	Subedar of Multan	A.N.3/817
"	Shahrullah Kambu Lahori (Shahbaz Khan)	*Kotwal-i-Urdu* (Provost Marshal of the Camp)	A.N.3/817
"	Qasim Ali Khan Rohtasi	*Mir-i-Adl*	A.N.3/818
"	Muhibb Ali Khan Rohtasi	*Subedar* of Multan	A.N.3/840
1589-90	Qasim Khan	*Subedar* of Kabul	A.N./861
"	Mulla Mir, Nimal Khan	*Bakawal* Begi	A.N./863-64
"	Khwaja Sham-suddin	*Diwan*	A.N.3/864
"	Abdur Rahim *Khan-i-Khanan*	*Subedar* of Gujarat,transferred) to Multan	A.N.3/863-64
1589-90	Khan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka	*Subedar* of Malwa (transferred) to Gujarat	A.N.3/865
"	Shahabuddin Ahmad Khan	*Subedar* of Malwa	A.N.3/865
"	Raja Man Singh	*Subedar* of Bihar	A.N.3/870
"	Said Khan Chaghta	*Subedar* of Bengal	A.N.3/878
1590-91	Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner	*Subedar* of Lahore	M.U.2/148-54
"	Khwaja Muhibb Ali Khan	*Diwan* of Malwa	A.N.3/885
1590-1	Sultan Murad	*Subedar* of Malwa	A.N.3/911

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1591-92	Muhammad Qasim Khan, Chaman Arai Khurasani	Hakim of Kabul	M.U.T.2/393
"	Mir Sharif Amuli	Amin, Sadr and Qazi (Bengal and Bihar)	A.N.3/916
"	Nizamudin Ahmad	Bakshi-i-Kul	M.U.T.3/393
"	Sharif Sarmadi	Bakshi of Suba	A.N.3/916
"	Khwaja Sham-suddin	Subedar of Kashmir	A.N.3/959
"	Khwaja Sulai-man Shirazi	Bakshi of Gujarat	A.N.3/967
1592-93	Mirza Sharukh	Subedar of Malwa	A.N.3/990
"	Mirza Yusuf Khan	Subedar of Kashmir	A.N.3/959
"	Mirza Jani Beg	Subedar of Multan	A.N.3/977-78
"	Mirza Aziz Koka	Subedar of Gujarat	A.N.3/982
"	Multan Murad	Subedar of Malwa Subedar of Gujarat	A.N.3/982; T.A.2/648
"	Abdur Razzaq Mamuri	Bakshi of Gujarat	A.N.3/963
1593-94	Shahbaz Khan	Ataliq of Mirza Sharukh	A.N.3/991
"	Said Khan Chaghta	Subedar of Bengal	A.N.3/999
"	Shah Beg Khan Kabuli Arghun	Qiledar of Qandahar	A.N.3/999
"	Man Singh	Subedar of Bihar	T.A.2/658
"	Shah Quli Khan Mahram	Subedar of Agra	T.A.2/664

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1593-94	Naurang Khan	Hakim of Junagarh	A.N.3/1001 T.A.2/666
"	Samanji Khan Mughal	Subedar of Awadh	A.N.3/1000 T.A.2/667
"	Shahbaz Khan Kambu	Hakim of Malwa	T.A.2/667
"	Muhammad Qasim Khan Mir Bahr	Subedar of Kabul	T.A.2/668
"	Payanda Khan Mughal	Hakim of Ghoraghat	T.A.2/669
"	Sayyid Qasim S/o Sayyid Mahmud Khan Barha	Hakim of Patan (Gujarat)	T.A.3/669
"	Mirza Sharukh	Subedar of Malwa	T.A.2/653
"	Sharif Khan Atka	Hakim of Ghazni	T.A.2/663
"	Udai Singh, Mota Raja	Hakim of Jodhpur	T.A.2/671; Vigat.2/490-92
"	Rai Patar Das Khattari	Hakim of Bihta	T.A.2/680
"	Khwaja Abdul Hai	Mir Adl	T.A.2/681
"	Mir Abal Qasim	Mir-i-Adl	T.A.2/681
1593-94	Bakhtiyar Beg Turkman	Hakim of Sewistan	T.A.2/683
"	Miran Sadr-i-Jahan	Sadras-Sadur-i-Hindustan	M.U.T.2/418; T.A.2/683
"	Mir Abul Qasim Namkin	Hakim of Bhakkar	T.A.2/683
"	Shaikh Farid Bukhari	Bakshi	M.U.T.2/410

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1594-95	Qulij Muhammad Khan	Diwan, Subedar of Kabul	A.N.3/1004
"	Khwaja Sham-suddin	Diwan-i-Kul	A.N.3/1004
"	Sharif Khan Atka	Hakim of Ghazni	A.N.3/1004
"	Rustam Mirza	Subedar of Multan	A.N.3/1011
"	Mirza Yusuf Khan	Daroga-i-top Khana	A.N.3/1015
"	Mirza Aziz Koka, Khan-i-Azam	Wakil	A.N.3/1026
"	Husain Beg	Diwan of Allahabad	A.N.3/1029
"	Bharti Chand	Diwan of Ajmer	A.N.3/1029
"	Rai Ram Das	Diwan of Ahmadabad	A.N.3/1029
"	Khanur	Diwan of Awadh	A.N.3/1029
"	Kishan Das Taunwar	Diwan of Bengal	A.N.3/1029; Vigat 2/490-2
"	Ram Das Rathor	Diwan of Bihar	A.N.3/1029; Vigat.2/490-2
"	Ram Rai	Diwan of Delhi	A.N.3/1029
"	Khwaja Ghiyas Beg	Diwan of Kabul	A.N.3/1029
"	Mathura Das Khattari	Diwan of Lahore	A.N.1029; Vigat.2/490-2
"	Khwaja Muhibb Ali Khaqani	Diwan of Malwa	A.N.3/1029
"	Keshav Das	Diwan of Agra	A.N.3/1029
"	Khwaja Muqim	Diwan of Multan	A.N.3/1029
1995-96	Qulj Muhammad Khan	Subedar of Kabul	A.N.3/1051

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1995-96	Said Khan Chaghta	Subedar of Bihar	A.N.3/1059
"	Khwaja Muqim	Diwan of Khalisa	A.N.3/1041
1596-97	Zain Khan Koka	Hakim of Kabul	M.U.2/362
"	Sultan Daniyal	Subedar of Allahabad	A.N.3/1077
"	Mukhtur Beg	Bakshi of Bihar	A.N.3/1103
1597-98	Rai Patar Das Rai Rayan	Diwan	A.N.3/1106
"	Jafar Beg Asaf Khan	Subedar of Kashmir	A.N.3/1110
1598-99	Mir Sharif Amuli	Subedar of Ajmer	A.N.3/1115
"	Khwaja Sham-suddin Khawafi	Subedar of Lahore	A.N.3/1115
"	Mir Murad	Bakshi of Lahore	A.N.3/1115
1598-99	Abul Qasim Namkin	Subedar of Bihar	A.N.3/1118
"	Mirza Sharukh	Subedar of Malwa	A.N.3/1120
"	Jafar Beg Asaf Khan	Subedar of Kashmir	A.N.3/1122
"	Sultan Murad	Subedar of the Deccan	A.N.3/1123
"	Prince Daniyal	Subedar of the Deccan Subedar of Allahabad	A.N.3/1131
1598-99	Qulij Muha-mmad Khan	Subedar of Agra	A.Ali.29
1598-99	Jafar Beg Asaf Khan	Diwan-i-Kul	A.N.3/1134
1599-1600	Qulij Muha-mmad Khan	Mir-i-Mal	A.N.3/1134

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1599-1600	Abul Fazl	Subedar of Khandesh	A.N.3/1150-1152
"	Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan	Subedar of Deccan	A.N.3/1131, 1255
1600-01	Khwaja Sham-suddin Khawafi	Subedar of Lahore	A.N.3/1154
"	Qulij Muhammad Khan	Subedar of Agra Subedar of Lahore	A.Ali.29
1601-02	Sar Andaz Khan	Kotwal of Ahmadabad	A.N.3/1189
"	Qulij Muhammad Khan	Subedar of Panjab	A.N.3/1196
"	Shah Quli Khan Mahram	Subedar of Kabul	A.N.3/1197
"	Raja Bhagwan Das	Mautaufi	A.N.3/1199
"	Jafar Beg Asaf Khan	Subedar of Agra	A.N.3/1199
"	Mirza Aziz Koka Khan-i-Azam	Subedar of Gujrat	A.N.3/1211
"	Zain Khan Koka	Subedar of Kabul	M.U.2/362-70
"	Shamsi Shamsu-ddin Husain S/O Khan-i-Azam	Deputy Subedar of Gujarat	A.N.3/1211
1602-03	Iftikhar Beg	Faujdar of Mewat	A.N.3/1223
"	Shah Beg Khan	Nazim of Qandhar and Ghaznin	A.N.3/1223
"	Sharif Khan	Hakim of Ghaznin	A.N.3/1223
"	Husain Beg S. Umari	Subedar of Kabul and Bangash	A.N.3/1231
1603-04	Prince Salim	Subedar of Allahabad	A.N.3/1233
"	Qulij Muha-mmad Khan	Subedar of Lahore	A.N.3/1235

Date	Name	Appointment	Source
1603-04	Shadman S/O Khan-i-Azam	Subedar of Gujarat	A.N.3/1236
"	Abdullah S/O Khan-i-Azam	Hakim of Junagarh	A.N.3/1236
"	Khwaja Rahma-tullah	Bakshi of Kabul	A.N.3/1239
1604-05	Jafar Beg, Asaf Khan	Subedar of Bihar	A.N.3/1249
"	Shaikh Farid Bukhari	Bakshi	A.N.3/1249
"	Mir Abu Turab (Ashraf Khan)	Faujdar of Awadh	A.N.3/1249
"	Shaikh Bayazid	Deputy Subedar of Allahabad	A.N.3/1249
"	Muqim(Wazir Khan)	Diwan	A.N.3/1249
"	Muizz	Diwan-i-Bayutat	A.N.3/1249
"	Kalyan Das S/O Raja Todar Mal	Qiledar of Kalinjar	A.N.3/1249
"	Khwaja Abdu-llah, Safdar Khan	Faujdar of Kalpi	A.N.3/1249
"	Mir Sharif Amuli	Faujdar of Sarkar Bahraich	A.N.3/1249
"	Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan	Subedar of Deccan	A.Ali.32
"	Hasan Beg Khaki	Diwan of Jaunpur	A.N.3/1249
"	Raja Man Singh	Subedar of Bengal	A.N.3/1249
"	Qulij Muha-mmad Khan	Subedar of Lahore	A.N.3/1249
"	Prince Daniyal	Subedar of Deccan	A.N.3/1254
"	Malik Ali Ihtimam Khan	Kotwal of Lahore	M.U.T.2/300

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